ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

http://archive.org/details/historyofstateof02witt

THE FRONTIER STATE: 1803-1825

by William T. Utter

201



A HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO VOLUME II

THE OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO

THE HISTORY OF

THE STATE OF OHIO

Edited by

CARL WITTKE

Professor of History, Oberlin College

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN SIX VOLUMES

Publication Committee

HARLOW LINDLEY, CHAIRMAN

CARL WITTKE · WILLIAM T. UTTER

VOLUME II

THE FRONTIER STATE

1803-1825

By

WILLIAM T. UTTER

Professor of History, Denison University

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

Columbus, Ohio, 1942

COPYRIGHT 1942, THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPRINTED, 1968
THE OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

977.1
W 78h
v. 2
Cop. 2

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Illustrations	vii
List of Maps and Tables	ix
Editor's Introduction to Volume II	xi
Preface	xiii
CHAPTER	
I. Building a State Government	3
II. State Politics in 1812	32
III. Ohio and the Nation	63
IV. Ohio and the War of 1812	88
V. Acquiring a Farm	120
VI. The Farm in Production	146
VII. Waterways	173
VIII. The Building of Roads	200
IX. Growth of Industries	229
X. Financial Disaster	263
XI. The Course of Politics, 1816-1825	296
XII. Sickness and Doctors	338
XIII. The Struggle with Human Depravity	362
XIV. A Maturing Society	387
Index	423

List of Illustrations

Page

1. First State Capitol, Chillicothe (*American Pioneer*) 2
2. Edward Tiffin (1766–1829) (Ross County Historical Society) 11
3. Residence of Edward Tiffin (Ross County Historical Society) 19
4. Preamble of Ohio Constitution, 1802 (Ohio Secretary of State) 22
5. Second State Capitol, Zanesville (Ohio State Museum) 53
6. A Tammany Advertisement (Hamilton *Miami Intelligencer*) 56
7. Blennerhassett to Woodbridge (Ohio State Museum) 70
8. Thomas Worthington (1773–1827) (Ohio State-house) .. 80
9. Adena, Residence of Thomas Worthington (Ohio State Museum) 84
10. General William Hull's Order of March (Worthington *Western Intelligencer*) 90
11. Parade Order (Columbus *Gazette*) 106
12. Farm for Sale (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 128
13. An Improved Plow (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 151
14. Large Ox (Chillicothe *Supporter*) 161
15. Marietta Buildings, 1825 (pencil sketch by S. P. Hildreth, Campus Martius Museum) 180
16. Tupper-Ward House, Marietta (Roos) 181
17. Hildreth House (restoration by Jeanne Phillips Darby, Ohio State University, Department of Fine Arts) 182
18. Cincinnati in 1820 (Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio) 197
19. Departure for Ohio (S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections*) 207
20. Stage-coach (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 218
21. Bark-mill (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 237

Page
22. Still (Zanesville *Muskingum Messenger*) 246
23. Red Ware (Ohio State Museum) 257
24. Personal Check, R. J. Meigs, Jr. (Ohio State Museum) 268
25. Negotiable Paper (Ohio State Museum) 274
26. Owl Creek Bank Paper (Ohio State Museum 275
27. A Bill of the German Bank of Wooster (Ohio State Museum) 285
28. Third State Capitol, Columbus (W. T. Martin, *History of Franklin County, Ohio*) 298
29. William Ludlow's Motto (Ohio State Museum) 300
30. Ethan Allen Brown (1766–1852) (Ohio State-house) 313
31. Ephraim Cutler (1767–1853) (*Biographical Cyclopædia of the State of Ohio*) 323
32. Daniel Drake, M.D. (1785–1852) (*Biographical Cyclopædia of the State of Ohio*) 358
33. Neither Bed nor Board (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 368
34. Taft House, Cincinnati (Roos) 388
35. Taft House Portico (Roos) 389
36. The Celebrated Dwarf (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 400
37. The African Lion (Columbus *Gazette*) 404
38. The Tumbler (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 407
39. Living Animals (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 412
40. Romeo and Juliet (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 417
41. A Balloon (Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*) 418

List of Maps and Tables

Map *Page*

1. Ohio Counties, 1803 (Downes) 28
2. Ohio Counties, 1806 (Downes) 29
3. Distribution of Population, 1810 (U. S. Census) 49
4. Land Subdivisions (Ohio Auditor of State) 126
5. Ohio Counties, 1816 (Downes) 132
6. Main-traveled Roads, 1820 (Kilbourn) 201
7. Distribution of Population, 1820 (U. S. Census) 220
8. Election of 1824 (Roseboom) 334

Table

1. Erection and Organization of Ohio Counties 34
2. Lands Sold by Ohio Land-offices to the Year 1821 145

Editor's Introduction to Volume II

THIS volume deals with the pioneer period of Ohio's development. It begins with 1803, when Ohioans launched a new state government in the little stone Capitol in Chillicothe, and covers the twenty-two years to the inauguration of John Quincy Adams as the sixth President of the United States. Four years later, largely as a product of the emerging West, of which Ohio was so important a part, the hosts of Jacksonian Democracy captured control of the Federal Government.

Dr. Utter is the head of the Department of History and Government at Denison University. His earlier studies and publications in the field of Ohio politics, especially from 1802 to the close of the War of 1812, made him the logical choice for the preparation of this volume. Here he has reexamined the political struggles of early Ohio; the controversies that raged over such questions as judicial review and the common law, and which were perhaps of more lasting importance than Ohio's later and better-known attack on the Second United States Bank, when Ohio leaders espoused nullification sentiments as hotly as any South Carolinian; the influence of Tammany societies in Ohio campaigns; the role of the State in the War of 1812—"three-fourths politics and one-fourth fighting"; the Panic of 1819 which ended the golden age of pioneer prosperity; and the political repercussions of the war and the panic, from 1816 to 1824, a period that was anything but "an era of good feeling" as far as the Buckeye State was concerned.

Dr. Utter has judiciously threaded his way through the many controversial issues that fall within the scope of his volume. Through his mastery of much unpublished manuscript material and a diligent search of old newspaper files, he has not only added new and interesting details to the familiar episodes, but also has pro-

vided new light and corrected interpretations for a number of incidents in State and national history.

But this volume is far more than a political history. Its most significant chapters deal with the social, economic and cultural aspects of life in Ohio before 1825. With extraordinary competence and a remarkable grasp of minute details, Dr. Utter here reconstructs the economic life of the young State; describes how pioneers acquired land and put a farm into actual production; traces the development of transportation from flatboats and barges, roads and turnpikes, to canals and ocean-going vessels built at Marietta; explains the development of financial practises and institutions to keep pace with the State's expanding economic activity; and traces the history and influence of journalism, religion, recreation, entertainment, education, public health, the role of pioneer doctors and medical schools, and many other topics that provide the reader with a many-colored picture of how people really lived in Ohio during the first two decades of statehood.

CARL WITTKE

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

Preface

IN THIS volume an attempt has been made to write a history of *the people of Ohio* in the period 1803-1825, emphasizing what they considered of most importance and disregarding what to them seemed unessential. Hence the conventional history of political and military affairs, set down in Chapters I-IV and XI, is subordinated to the discussion of social and economic developments, which makes up the balance of the book. By applying the same rule, emphasis has been laid on regions which were most thickly settled in this period, which means that northern Ohio receives but scant attention. The work is not concerned with local history, for the subject matter is divided topically, rather than geographically, as in the popular *Historical Collections* of Henry Howe. If the reader is annoyed by what he considers to be important omissions, it is hoped that the writer's plan may be kept in mind.

In Ohio museums one may find possessions of the early settlers, and piece together a picture of the homes in which they lived. In recent years, fortunately for the social historian, an attempt has been made to gather those ephemeral articles, so frequently worn out in use, which were essential to the daily life in a frontier household. But our very phrase "museum piece" indicates that we are most intent on preserving only the best among these relics. A similar difficulty is encountered if one seeks to recreate the life of early Ohioans from letters and documents. Letters written by people of importance exist in substantial numbers, but one can learn of the activities of only two or three hundred people, perhaps, out of a population of a thousand times as large. The files of newspapers yield the richest returns to the critical reader, for they reflect, often unintentionally, phases of life in frontier towns which are never disclosed in manuscripts. Accounts of travelers, too, are of great value, although one frequently learns more about the traveler than about the things he saw.

Footnotes are given to indicate newspapers which have been scanned, letters which have been read, and various works to which the author is indebted. These entries should be taken as typical, rather than as comprehensive, since this work is not intended primarily for the historians' guild. The collection of newspapers in the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, at Columbus, has been the most important single source of material. Next in order of importance is the collection of letters to and from the early governors of the State, to be found in the Ohio State Library. These resources have been supplemented by those of the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Ross County Historical Society, the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The author is much indebted to these institutions for courtesies extending over fifteen years.

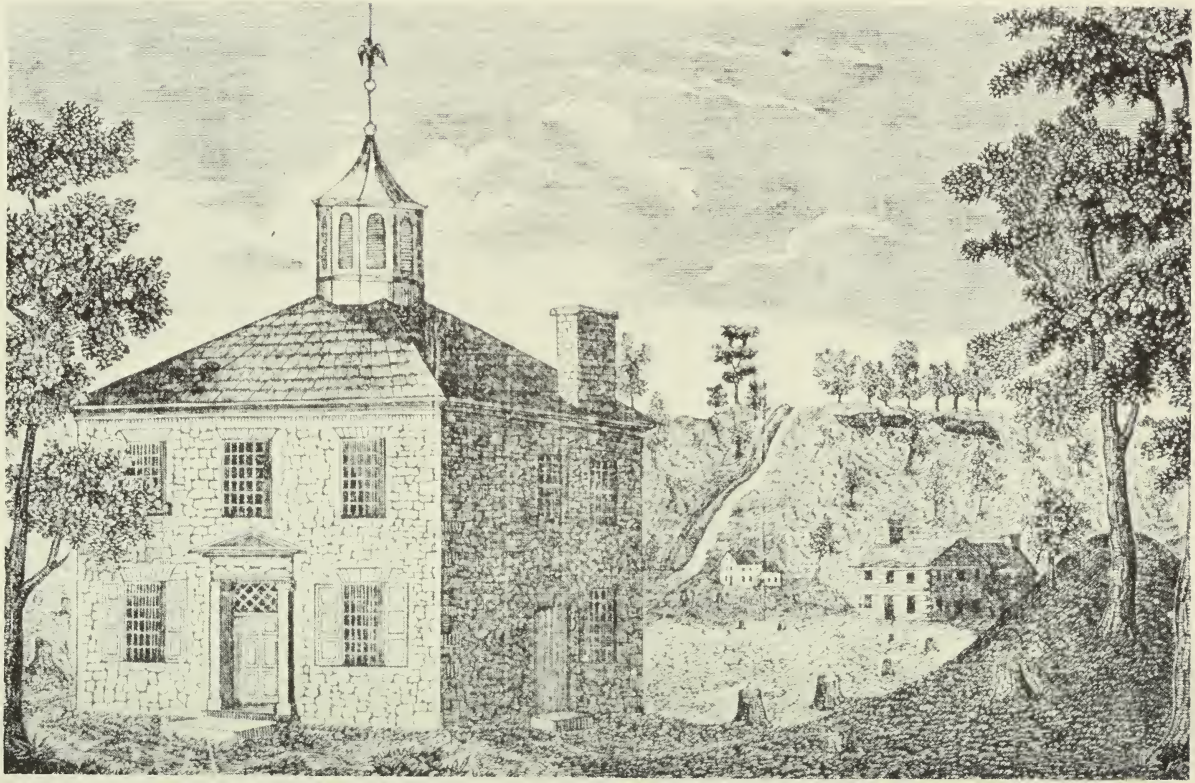
It is a pleasure to thank those who have aided the author in his work: his father, who first instructed him in pioneer lore; his colleagues and his family, who have given helpful criticism; Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, who guided the writing of a doctoral dissertation on early Ohio politics; his friends, Mr. Lee Shepard of Cincinnati and Mr. Charles B. White of Granville, for helpful suggestions and encouragement. To Dean Carl F. Wittke, editor of this series, the writer is indebted for counsel when the volume was being planned and for a reading of the completed manuscript. The courtesy of Dr. Frank J. Roos, Jr., of the Ohio State University, Department of Fine Arts, for use of certain of his original photographs, and the skill of Mr. Walter Velzey in the making of seven of the maps, are appreciated. Members of the staff of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Dr. Harlow Lindley and Dr. William Overman in particular, have been most helpful. The author is most appreciative of the care bestowed on his manuscript by Mr. Clarence L. Weaver, who prepared it for the printer.

William T. Utter

Granville, Ohio, August 1, 1941.

THE FRONTIER STATE

1803-1825



1. FIRST STATE CAPITOL, CHILLICOTHE
From the *American Pioneer* (Chillicothe, Ohio), vol. I (1842), p. 202.

CHAPTER I

Building a State Government

IN 1803, and for many years before and after, Ohioans were engaged, literally, in getting out of the woods. A living must be wrested from lands covered by a portion of the greatest deciduous forest on the face of the globe. There was not daylight enough for all that must be done, since trees must be felled and burned, cabins and barns must be raised, hungry mouths must be filled, and money must be obtained somehow for meeting the payment on the farm; here were occupations for every waking hour. Thousands were engaged in this arduous business of bringing a wilderness under subjection. Their names are largely forgotten for they had no skill in writing memorials; but their achievements are recorded in every cleared acre of Ohio farmland; and their blood is a good inheritance.

Pioneering, although of a different sort, was going forward in the little stone building in Chillicothe which was destined to become Ohio's first Capitol. On the first day of November, 1802, thirty-five delegates were assembled to decide whether Ohio should immediately become a state. In case the decision was favorable, and no one doubted but that it would be, these men were to frame a constitution. They did draft a constitution, one which remained the organic law of Ohio for forty-eight years. The session lasted from the first to the twenty-ninth of November, and in twenty-five working days, at a cost of less than five thousand dollars, this work of pioneering was accomplished.

An acrimonious struggle within the Northwest Territory was brought to a conclusion when the Constitution which they drafted was accepted by Congress. The interesting story of that struggle is fully told elsewhere; only the concluding stages need to be related

here. Governor Arthur St. Clair, for reasons which to him seemed adequate, opposed the movement for statehood. In this he had the support of a conservative element which may safely be labeled "Federalist." His opponents, led by a group of young Chillicotheans, were Jeffersonians almost to a man.

The Seventh Congress of the United States in April, 1802, had passed the Enabling Act which outlined the conditions under which Ohio might become a state.[1] The Federalist Territorial representative, Paul Fearing of Marietta, had opposed the measure but his efforts were nullified by Thomas Worthington, lobbyist extraordinary from Chillicothe.[2] This was the first act of the kind passed by Congress and the Federalists, following Fearing's argument, opposed it on the ground that Congress under the Ordinance of 1787 did not have the power to authorize a constitutional convention but that the whole process must be upon the initiative of the people of the Territory. The Ordinance had provided that sixty thousand inhabitants should be the minimum population of a prospective state. Since the Census of January, 1802, had shown no more than 45,028 persons within the eastern division of the Territory, which included the Detroit settlements, Worthington appeared as a supplicant from whom concessions could be exacted.[3] Opponents of immediate statehood asserted that too much had been conceded and that by waiting until the requisite population had been attained Ohio could frame a constitution and request admission on "an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatsoever," as the Ordinance had provided.

The conditions laid down in the Act do not seem unusual, judged in the light of later congressional practise. The boundaries of the State were fixed, with Pennsylvania and the Ohio River on

[1] *Annals of Congress,* 7 Cong., 1 Sess., Apr. 28, 1802, 296; Apr. 29, 1802, 1252.

[2] For detailed accounts of the intricacies of this period, see B. W. Bond, Jr., *Foundations of Ohio,* Vol. I of this series; R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803, Ohio Historical Collections* (Columbus, 1935), III, Ch. VI-VIII; R. J. Bartlett, "Struggle for Statehood in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), XII (1903), 339ff. Hereafter the latter will be cited as *O. S. A. H. Quar.*

[3] This is the interpretation in Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-western Territory* (New York, 1847), Ch. XVIII.

the east and south, and on the west a line due north from the mouth of the Miami River. The northern boundary, subject of much controversy in later years, was to be a section of a line drawn east from the southern tip of Lake Michigan. This northern line excluded the inhabitants of the Detroit area and attached them to Indiana Territory, much to their displeasure according to Judge Jacob Burnet.[4] After fixing the date for the meeting of the Convention and prescribing the qualifications of voters for delegates and their distribution among the various counties, the Act (Sec. 7) made proposals to the Convention, which if accepted would become obligatory upon the United States.[5]

Three definite concessions were offered to the State on the condition that Government lands sold after June 30, 1802, should be free from State taxes for a period of five years after the date of sale. The first concession was that the sixteenth section, or its equivalent, in the public lands would be granted to the inhabitants of each township for the use of schools. Second, certain lands including salt springs on the Scioto and Muskingum rivers and in the Military District would be deeded to the State for the use of the people under the stipulation that they should not be sold nor leased for a longer period than ten years. Third, five per cent. of the net proceeds from the sale of public land after June 30, 1802, would be used for the building of public roads "leading from navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said State, and through the same. . . ." [6]

These propositions were offered to the Convention "for their free acceptance or rejection," but they were accepted subject to certain counter proposals to which Congress later agreed. First it was requested that the proposal regarding the school lands be applied to the United States Military District, to the Connecticut Reserve and the Virginia Military District, as far as possible.

[4] *Ibid.*, 337 and Appendix H.

[5] The texts of the Enabling Act, the counter-proposals, the Journal of the Convention, and the Constitution are collected in D. J. Ryan, "From Charter to Constitution," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, V (1898), 1ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, 77f.

Second, that land equivalent to a township be granted by the Government in lieu of the "College Township" provided for under the uncompleted Symmes Purchase. It was also requested that three-fifths of the sum which Congress had offered for the construction of roads should be spent within the State, the other two-fifths being set aside for roads leading up to the boundary. In return for these concessions the State would agree to grant the tax exemption which Congress had requested.

The Enabling Act had provided for the distribution of delegates among the counties in the ratio of one to twelve hundred inhabitants. Of the thirty-five members, ten were allotted to Hamilton County, the relatively populous Cincinnati area. Five were assigned to Ross County, which included Chillicothe and other Scioto Valley settlements, while Washington County was given four, who would represent Marietta and the Muskingum Valley. Jefferson County, with the flourishing town of Steubenville, was to choose five. The remaining eleven delegates were distributed among the less populous counties.

In the Chillicothe region the great majority of the population supported the movement for statehood. That town, it seemed certain, would become the capital of the new State, a fact which had a bearing on land values. The settlers of the region, as is well known, were of Virginia or southern stock; one might say that they were Jeffersonians from birth. Their political leaders, Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Edward Tiffin, and Michael Baldwin, had led the fight for statehood and were chosen to the Convention almost without opposition. The election was exciting if one may judge by a letter of Massie to Worthington: "As the time draws near for the election, I make no doubt that a number of the candidates are extremely busy. Indeed, from what Major [Duncan] McArthur informs me, you are already glutted with hand-bills and long tavern harangues." [7]

In the Marietta settlement there was excitement too, but the

[7] Arthur St. Clair, *Papers,* ed. by W. H. Smith (Cincinnati, 1896), II, 591; letter dated Lexington, Ky., Oct. 1, 1802.

political situation was reversed. The New England settlers, in a majority there, were many of them Federalists. They had for the most part upheld St. Clair in his quarrel with the Chillicotheans. The Territorial representative, Fearing, lived in Marietta; the Enabling Act was no work of his. A meeting of representatives of the villages of Washington County was held in Marietta on August 4, 1802, to nominate delegates. General Rufus Putnam, Marietta's leading citizen, Benjamin Ives Gilman, merchant, and Ephraim Cutler, son of Manasseh, were selected from the Marietta neighborhood, and John McIntire, the most prominent citizen of Zanesville, made the fourth of the Federalist ticket. The point of view of these men was fully understood and the liberals who were in favor of immediate statehood drew up a rival ticket headed by Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr.[8] In the October elections the Federalists won by a good majority. This victory does not indicate so much the strength of the Federalist Party as it does the hope entertained in this section that a state might later be erected with a western boundary line at the Scioto and a capital on the Muskingum.

In Hamilton County, where ten delegates were to be selected, excitement ran high. No less than ninety-nine candidates offered themselves for consideration.[9] The Jeffersonians were rather well organized, for Republican societies, the outgrowth of the contests with St. Clair, existed in most of the townships. Delegates from these societies met in Cincinnati and united on a ticket which was printed with the party's endorsement in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette,* August 21, 1802. St. Clair took a hand in the campaign by endeavoring to inflame the citizens of Cincinnati against the Chillicotheans. His contributions to the *Western Spy,* under the name of "Old Inhabitant of Hamilton County," betrayed a hatred of his opponents that was positively venomous.[10] In an address made in Cincinnati during the course of the campaign he berated the Republican societies in the following words:

[8] J. P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler . . .* (Cincinnati, 1890), 65f.
[9] Cincinnati *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette,* Oct. 20, 1802.
[10] *Ibid.,* Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 1802; Downes, *Frontier Ohio,* 195.

"Nobody knows what they are doing but the members, and they are pledged to support their doings at all events. They tell you, indeed, that their design is to keep people that are not Republicans out of the convention; but it looks more like a formed design to get themselves in whether they are capable or not. Republicans! What is a Republican? Is there a single man in all the country that is not a republican, both in principle and practice, except, perhaps, a few people who wish to introduce negro slavery amongst us, and those chiefly residing in the county of Ross." [11]

St. Clair's reference to the slavery question was possibly made with honest intent, but it has something of the aroma of a herring drawn across the trail. The same device was used to frighten voters in Washington County.[12] Tiffin and Worthington of Ross County were heartily opposed to the institution; both had manumitted their slaves on emigration from Virginia. In the course of the campaign Tiffin stated publicly, "even were it possible to establish slavery here—which it is not, because it was forever prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787—I would regard its introduction as being the greatest injury we could possibly inflict upon our posterity." [13] It is well to note that Tiffin and Worthington led the ticket favoring statehood in the county which St. Clair charged with being proslavery.

The election in Hamilton County resulted in a victory for the Republicans. The ten men who stood highest on the list were Charles Willing Byrd, Francis Dunlavy, Jeremiah Morrow, John W. Browne, Joseph Kitchell, John Paul, John Wilson, William Goforth, John Smith, and John Reily. The last two were elected without the official support of the Republicans.[14] The victorious party held a public celebration of their success around a barbecued ox. A pedestal standing on a base labeled "The People" was erected "in honor of Jefferson." Among the toasts drunk was one "To the

[11] St. Clair, *Papers,* II, 587ff.
[12] Cutler, *Cutler,* 66n.
[13] W. E. Gilmore, *Life of Edward Tiffin, First Governor of Ohio* (Chillicothe, O., 1897), 65.
[14] *Western Spy,* Oct. 20, 1802.

act of Congress, which rent the bonds of colonial government." [15]

With the victory of the Republicans in Hamilton and Ross their control over the Convention was assured; not that there had been any misgivings on that point. Jefferson County sent at least two Federalists, Bezaleel Wells and Nathan Updegraff, out of the five to whom she was entitled. Wells, who with James Ross had founded the town of Steubenville, was highly respected by Republicans and Federalists alike. Belmont County, recently formed from Jefferson, returned James Caldwell and Elijah Woods, both friends to statehood. Adams County elected three Republicans; Massie's influence was paramount there. Trumbull sent David Abbott and Samuel Huntington, both favorable to statehood.

The thirty-five "Ohio Fathers" were too young to be described as elder statesmen; over half of them were under forty. Worthington, whose achievements were already considerable, was barely twenty-nine. His brother-in-law, Tiffin, was thirty-six. Byrd, at thirty-two, was looked upon by many as a leading intellect of the assembly. Putnam, the Marietta veteran, who was sixty-four, was among the oldest of the delegates. Probably all of them would come under the classification of "land speculators"; few Ohioans in that day were not. The professions were well represented, with lawyers predominating. Baldwin, Huntington, and Byrd would probably have been rated as the leaders of this group, although there were at least four others with considerable legal training. Smith, Browne, and Philip Gatch were clergymen although they combined many other activities with their preaching. Massie and Worthington were outstanding speculators in lands in the Virginia Military District; Putnam, Cutler, and Gilman represented similar interests in the Ohio Company's Tract. Wells had large holdings in Jefferson County, and McIntire, son-in-law of Ebenezer Zane, was the heart and soul of Zanesville. Goforth of Cincinnati was possibly the outstanding physician of Ohio. Dunlavy, founder of a classical school near Cincinnati in 1792, wrote Latin so easily that he kept a history of the times in that language.

[15] *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1802.

The group defies classification, so varied were their activities. Gilman, for example, was the leading merchant of Marietta but he also promoted the building of ships which sailed from the Muskingum to Europe. Wells could be listed as a banker, woolen manufacturer, judge, land owner, or surveyor. Updegraff was a mill owner and farmer, but he also might be thought of as a leading Quaker in the Mt. Pleasant Meeting. Others might be classed as ferry-keepers, farmers, or operators of saw- and grist-mills according to the part of the day's occupation which might be emphasized.

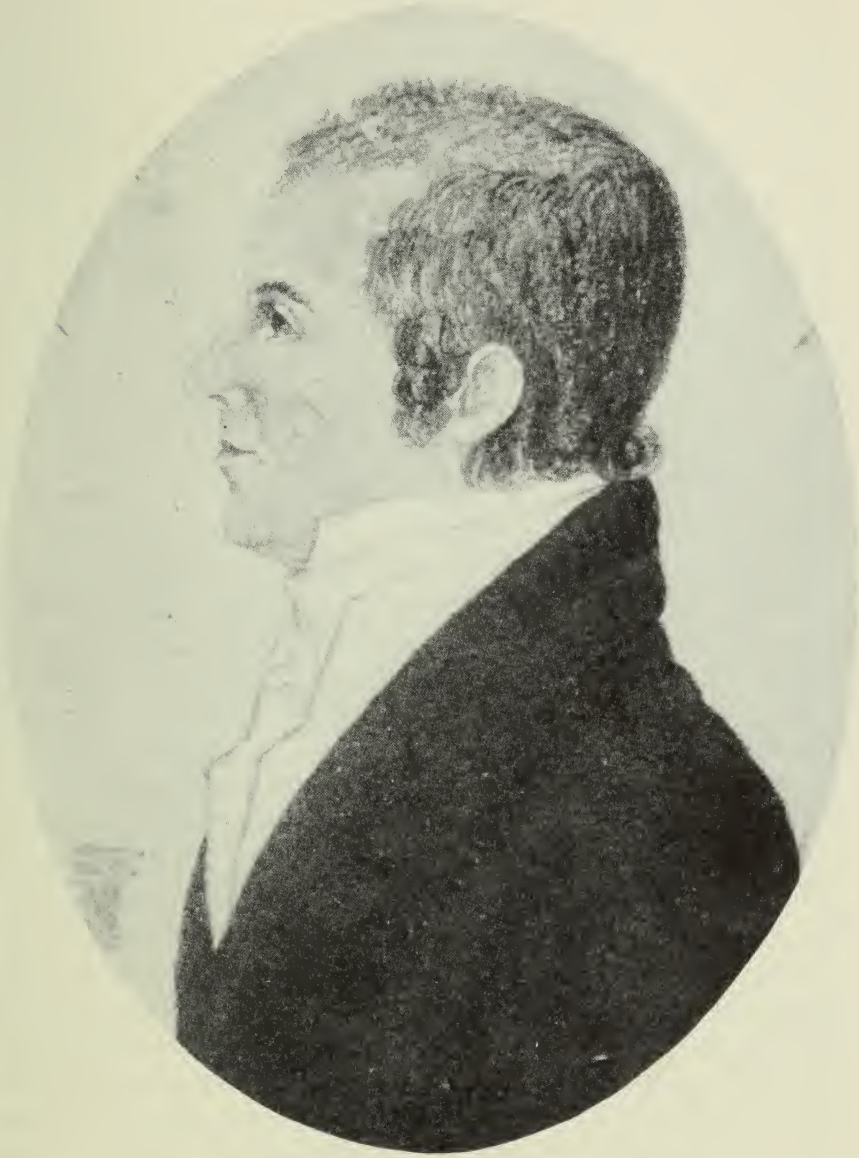
As far as it is possible to trace the nativity of these gentlemen it seems that Pennsylvania and Virginia each furnished eight or more, while approximately the same number were of New England origin. At least three were of foreign birth, Tiffin and Browne were from England and Thomas Kirker from Ireland. Burnet, who certainly was not lavish with his compliments, conceded that the thirty-five were "with but few exceptions, the most intelligent men in their counties." [16]

Chillicothe had been the capital of the Territory for a year prior to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention. Ross County, for the accommodation of the legislature, had erected what was reported to be the first stone building in the Northwest Territory. This building, which served as the cradle of statehood, "was illy adapted for the purpose," according to a contemporary:

"The house occupied the court-room on the ground floor, a very uncomfortable, badly lighted, and roughly finished room, with a large fire-place at each end, and a wide, open stairway out of one corner, leading up to the second floor. All the wood which could be piled on the fires failed to heat the large room in the winter. The senate occupied the grand-jury room on the second floor. This was a low room, with a platform for the Speaker's seat at one side, and long, roughly made tables on the floor, with plain, Windsor chairs ranged behind them for the reverend senators." [17]

[16] Burnet, *Notes*, 351.

[17] Samuel Williams, "Edward Tiffin," a chapter in J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism: Biographical, Historical and Miscellaneous. Illustrative of Pioneer Life* (Cincinnati, 1855), 273.



2. EDWARD TIFFIN, GOVERNOR (1766-1829)
Miniature from life. Courtesy of Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe.

On the second day of the Convention Tiffin was chosen president of the body. This was not merely a concession to the Chillicothe junto but was in genuine respect for the abilities of the man. Although small in stature this young doctor dominated any group he was in by the exuberance of his spirits and the quick brilliance of his intellect. His face, full and florid in coloring, was remarkably animated, especially in conversation or debate. Born in northern England in the town of Carlisle in the year 1766, he came to America together with his family in 1784 and found a home in the neighborhood of Charlestown, Virginia. He studied medicine in Philadelphia and was licensed to practise. In 1798 he left Virginia for the Ohio together with his wife Mary, her brother, Thomas Worthington, and their families. He and his wife were ardent Methodists; in fact Tiffin combined lay preaching with his labors as a physician. He had talents for politics and had served as speaker of the house in two sessions of the Territorial legislature. This was the man who was later to become Ohio's first governor.

Possibly the most exciting episode of the whole Convention was the speech of Governor Arthur St. Clair at the third session.[18] A number of his old enemies were for denying him the privilege of speaking but Nathaniel Massie, bitterest of all, said, "Give him enough rope and he will hang himself." The remarks of the old gentleman were chiefly directed against the Enabling Act. "That the people of the Territory should form a convention needed no act of Congress. To pretend to authorize it was on their part, an interference with the internal affairs of the country, which they had neither the power nor the right to make. The act is not binding on the people, and is in truth a nullity, and, could it be brought before that tribunal where acts of Congress can be tried would be declared a nullity." From this point of view he approached the details of the act, showing in each instance that Congress had either exceeded its authority or had made an offer of little practical value to the proposed state. In concluding he inquired, "But,

[18] St. Clair, *Papers*, II, 592ff.

gentlemen, why are conditions imposed upon us before we can obtain a right which is ours by nature and compact? Were conditions imposed upon Vermont, or upon Tennessee, before they could be admitted into the Union? There was none attempted. Why, then, this odious distinction in our case?" He urged his hearers to express their resentment by taking action in defiance of Congress.

Massie's prediction came true, for this speech was St. Clair's undoing. It was sent to President Thomas Jefferson who found in it "an intemperence and indecorum of language toward the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example," which warranted the termination of the governor's commission.[19] The old general's cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing when the formal note of dismissal was handed to him by his successor and enemy, Charles Willing Byrd. There is a tragedy surrounding the concluding years of St. Clair's life which has led many writers to engage in his defense. For him, as for many another, the triumph of Jeffersonianism had thrown the times permanently out of joint.

After St. Clair had been heard, the Convention immediately proceeded to vote on a motion of the first importance: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of the convention, that it is expedient, at this time, to form a constitution and State government." The vote was called and Ephraim Cutler, somewhat to his surprise, cast the solitary vote against the measure.

Ohio's first Constitution is a short document, easily printed in twenty pages, and of these twenty, seven would be taken up with the bill of rights, schedule and signatures. It was a simple framework, the product of practical men who saw clearly the distinction between organic law and ordinary legislation. They proceeded with their work in an orderly fashion. Each afternoon was devoted to a session of the whole body, leaving the evenings and mornings free for committee meetings.[20]

[19] *Ibid.*, I, 245.
[20] The original Journal of the Convention is in the Ohio Secretary of State's office.

Many characteristics of the document have an explanation in the political struggles of the Territorial period.[21] St. Clair had in diverse ways thwarted a desire which had frequently been expressed for a larger degree of self-government. He had halted the movement for the erection of new counties: the Constitution fixed the minimum size of new counties at only four hundred square miles, so small that no less than eighty-eight villages eventually became county-seats. He had opposed extending the jurisdiction of local magistrates: the framers of the Constitution brought justice to every neighborhood through the magistrate and common pleas courts and through the annual visits of the supreme court to each county town. The old governor had freely used his veto power: as a result the new governor had none. The right of suffrage was given to all white males of twenty-one or older who paid or were charged with a county tax or who had worked on the roads in their home county. They were privileged to vote for members of the State legislature, for the governor and the officers of their counties and townships. Levin Belt, a staunch Federalist of Chillicothe, with a gift for sarcasm, wrote to his friend, Paul Fearing, "It [the Constitution] begins with we the people, and if we may judge from the judiciary Article few Constitutions were ever so bepeopled as it is throughout." [22]

The Constitution embodied a favorite dogma of liberal political thinkers of that day: give the legislature extensive powers but hold it in check by frequent elections. In Ohio the legislature was all-powerful, for in addition to making the laws the two houses in joint session appointed the secretary of state, the treasurer, the auditor, the judges of the Supreme Court, and the judges of the courts of common pleas. The General Assembly met annually on the first Monday in December. The legislature was powerful yet frequently checked, since members of the lower house and half of the senators were elected each year.

[21] Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 246ff.

[22] Levin Belt to Paul Fearing, Chillicothe, Dec. 3, 1802, Fearing MSS. (in Marietta College Library, Marietta, O.).

The governor, shorn of the privileges of veto and appointment, was a figure-head, save as he might be able to make his influence felt by the force of his own personality. Since there was no patronage at his disposal there was little likelihood that a political machine could be built around him. The very capable men numbered among the early governors of Ohio were frequently able, in spite of this apparent lack of power, to direct the course of legislation through their formal messages at the opening session of each General Assembly and through personal influence with individual legislators.

The court system as set up by the Constitution was not well conceived. It was much criticized at the time and soon proved to be quite inadequate for the needs of a growing commonwealth. This is possibly the only illustration to be found in the document of legislation that was too specific.[23] The judicial power of the State both in law and equity was vested in a Supreme Court, in courts of common pleas in each county, in the justice courts in the townships and in such other courts as the legislature might establish. The Supreme Court consisted of three judges (a fourth was added in 1808) appointed by the legislature for a period of seven years. This court was required to hold a session once a year in each county-seat. The seventeen counties of 1803 had been subdivided to forty-four within ten years after statehood, and virtually all eighty-eight were organized before the Constitution of 1851 provided a new court system. In 1808, when an additional judge was appointed, the legislature permitted the court to make visitations in groups of two, but even so the duties of the judges were burdensome in the extreme, and because of the division of the court there were occasionally divergent decisions in similar cases.

The Constitution provided for courts of common pleas as the second step in the administration of justice. The State was divided into three districts (the number was later increased) in each of which there was appointed a presiding judge. This judge visited

[23] F. R. Aumann, "Development of the Judicial System of Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLI (1932), 201.

each county-seat three times each year and there held court with two or three associate judges who were residents of the county. These associate justices were frequently laymen, who may have brought good common sense but little legal knowledge to their duties. To those democratically inclined this arrangement had its appeal; in practise it was far from perfect. These officials were all appointed by the General Assembly; quite frequently the positions were filled by former members of that body.

The section dealing with the judiciary was largely the work of Ephraim Cutler, a fact in which he took considerable pride.[24] The committee which had been appointed to draft this section proposed a plan, patterned after the judiciary of Virginia, which would have established the Supreme Court at the State capital with duties largely appellate. To this Cutler objected that it would make justice both inconvenient and costly. He and several associates drew up a counter-proposal which was carried. The Constitution of Pennsylvania seems to have served them as a model. It is worthy of comment that the decentralization of the judiciary was achieved under the sponsorship of the Federalist bloc in the Convention.

A comparison of the Constitution of 1802 with the organic laws in other states would lead one to deduce that Tennessee had served as a guide for the Ohioans. But deduction is not necessary since Cutler writes, "Judge Byrd, who was secretary of the territory, was at the commencement of the session looked to by that party [the Jeffersonians] as the one to draft the constitution. He happily approved of the Tennessee constitution, which was the most recent one to which we had access."[25] The principal point of similarity is in the curtailment of the power of the governor. Tennessee denied both veto and appointive powers to her chief executive. By comparison with other states Tennessee and Ohio were radical in this important matter. For example, Pennsylvania, whose Constitution (1790) was considered liberal, gave both these prerogatives to her governor. In Kentucky (Constitution of 1799) the governor

[24] Cutler, *Cutler*, 70ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, 69.

had the right of veto, though it might be overridden by a simple majority.

Deduction, however, leads one to conclude that Nathaniel Macon, leader of the Republicans in North Carolina, and speaker of the House of Representatives, had furnished advice to his friend, Thomas Worthington, which had much weight in the drafting of the Ohio Constitution. Worthington and Macon were regular correspondents and during the summer preceding the Convention Worthington had written, "You promised me you would be so obliging as to write me & point out such parts of your constitution as had been found by experience to be deficient." [26] Macon's reply of Sept. 1, 1802, merits reprinting at length since analysis shows that it may have been of real service to Ohioans:

"In our State governments experience has shown the council to be useless, the governor and council have but very little to do; the executive is however full strong. Wherever you find a strong executive, in a country which has any liberty, you will also find violent parties, examine the state constitutions, and by the power of the Governor you may very nearly ascertain the general state of party as it relates to state affairs. The same principle produces the same effect in the United States and the territories. The executive should not appoint a single officer except as the North Carolina constitution directs; the appointment by the legislature is much better than by the Executive; because it destroys patronage, and prevents sycophants from obtaining office by dint of courtship; The representation ought to be according to numbers, and a married man ought to vote whether 21 or not. The militia soldiers ought to elect their officers to captains, the company officers elect the field officers, and the field the general officers; This would leave only the civil officers to the legislature & by dividing the appointment among the several bodies, it in very great measure destroys all attempts to bargain. When the governor has no appointments to bestow, the elections will be made without riot or

[26] Letter of July 23, 1802, Worthington Letter Book, MS. (in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

tumult, nor is it in this case a matter of much consequence whether he is elected by the legislature or the people, I would however prefer the latter; The Judges in every county ought to be elected for a limited time, elections during good behavior are nearly the same as for life, it destroys the desire to excel, in fact it puts an end to industry—every officer in the government should be elected for a limited time, his official conduct should at stated times be under the review of those who elected him. The governor and the legislature ought to be elected annually—Every cent of the public money paid out of the Treasury and for what paid, ought to be printed and attached to the laws of each session, this would operate against granting money improperly, and greatly curtail what are called contingencies.

"These hints will shew what alterations I should be glad to have in our constitution, but I would rather have it as it is than attempt an alteration, because we have hitherto lived happily under it." [27]

The principal ideas in this letter: a weak executive, a strong legislature with large appointive powers, the system of election in the militia, and the detail in regard to the publication of state expenditures, all found a place in the Constitution of 1802. This indicates one of two things, possibly both, that Macon's advice was followed by the constitution-makers, or that he had summarized current ideas which were already implanted in the minds of the Ohioans.

A casual reading of the Journal of the Convention reveals that the negro question called forth more discussion than any other topic. It has already been remarked that St. Clair had raised a hue and cry against the Chillicotheans on the ground that they sought to fasten slavery on the State. The slavery question did arise and a sharp debate centered around the question of the civil status of persons of color. Unfortunately contemporary records are lacking

[27] Nathaniel Macon to Thomas Worthington, Buck Spring, N. C., Sept. 1, 1802, Worthington MSS. (in Ohio State Library, Columbus); in garbled form in St. Clair, *Papers,* II, 590ff.



3. RESIDENCE OF EDWARD TIFFIN, CHILLICOTHE
This house appears in background of Illustration 1. Courtesy of Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe.

and the principal sources of information come from a time when the slavery issue was dominant in national politics. It seems possible, although the evidence is inconclusive, that Jefferson sought to have slavery introduced into Ohio for a limited period. That he was opposed to slavery had repeatedly been demonstrated but it is possible that he held that permitting slaveholders to move freely into all parts of the West, with the understanding that their slaves would become free on reaching a certain age, would prevent slavery from becoming a sectional institution and would lead to emancipation.

The committee on the bill of rights discussed the question of slavery at a meeting in the home of Edward Tiffin. Browne of Cincinnati introduced a section for discussion which read as fol-

lows: "No person shall be held in slavery, if a male, after he is thirty-five years of age; or a female after twenty-five years of age." [28] Cutler, who was a member of the committee, had no doubt that the section was inspired by Jefferson. In fact he had been at Washington at the time that Worthington was lobbying for statehood and he recalled that Worthington had told him that Jefferson desired just such a proviso in the Constitution of the prospective State. Cutler moved that the section proposed by Browne should be laid on the table and that the several members of the committee should each draft a paragraph which would express their views as to slavery. At the next meeting Cutler presented a statement in which slavery was specifically excluded, supporting it by the argument that the Ordinance of 1787 was in the nature of a compact and that slavery as a consequence could not be introduced legally. Browne countered by asserting that his proposal had the approval of the greatest men of the Nation, who hoped by such a policy to hasten complete emancipation. The vote of the committee approved Cutler's proposal by five to four. In support of his belief that Jefferson's hand had been exposed in Browne's suggestion for gradual emancipation, Cutler cites as proof a letter which he received from Jeremiah Morrow in 1846. Morrow wrote that when he went to Washington as Ohio's first congressman, Jefferson in commenting on the Constitution had said that it would "have been more judicious to have admitted slavery for a limited period." [29] To counterbalance the statements of Cutler and Morrow there is a letter of Thomas Scott's, who was secretary of the Convention. He wrote in his old age that he did not believe that Jefferson had sought to influence the Convention, and that he certainly would have known about it if he had.[30] This is evidence given by three old men, Cutler, Morrow, and Scott. The reader may evaluate their testimony as he may please, awaiting the possible appearance of more conclusive evidence.

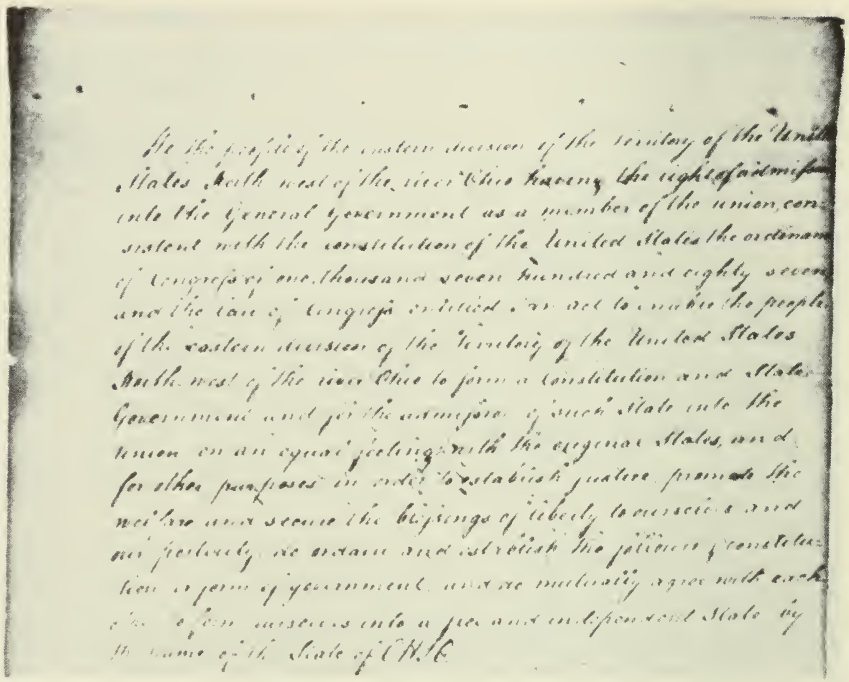
[28] Cutler, *Cutler,* 74.
[29] *Ibid.,* 75n.
[30] Thomas Scott to L. C. Draper, May 29, 1854, Draper MSS. (in Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, Madison), File no. 666.

The statement dealing with slavery as it finally appeared in the Constitution was in the following words:

"There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years or a female person arrived at the age of eighteen be held to serve any person as servants under the pretense of indenture or otherwise, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom and on condition of a *bona fide* consideration received, or to be received for their services except as before excepted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of the State or made in the State where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in the case of apprenticeships."

The civil status of Negroes was argued at length. It was proposed in the session of November 22, that "no negro or mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give their oath in any court of justice against a white person, be subject to do military duty, or pay a poll-tax in this State. . . ." This measure was first passed by a vote of 17 to 16 but was defeated on reconsideration four days later. The provision for negro suffrage was defeated by a narrow margin. It was first proposed by a vote of 19 to 15 that Negroes and mulattoes at that time resident in the State might vote if they recorded their citizenship, but on second consideration the vote was tied and Tiffin cast the deciding vote against suffrage. A clear-cut sectional division is observable here, for the Scioto settlements, Belmont County, and a minority from Hamilton County voted both for the "black code" and against negro suffrage. In the end the Negro, while denied the right to vote, could not be held in servitude otherwise than by indenture, and was granted equality in the courts. The narrow margin by which this last point was won is good evidence that Ohio was far from being the asylum for the oppressed race which it later became.

The preamble of Ohio's Constitution was borrowed from a more



4. PREAMBLE OF OHIO CONSTITUTION, 1802
Original in office of Ohio Secretary of State, Columbus.

celebrated document, for it announces that the people of the eastern division of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, have drafted their organic law "in order to establish justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity." Another model was followed in the first section of the bill of rights, for here one reads the famous phrases of Jefferson, with certain interesting modifications which show that practical men were endeavoring to bring idealism to a realistic plane. "We declare," it reads, "that all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights; amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. . . ."

The bill of rights, rather lengthy in proportion to the rest of the document, contains few innovations. There are the usual guarantees, both familiar and precious to those who are the heirs of the English tradition of liberty: freedom of speech, of the press, immunity from unwarrantable search, seizure, or arrest, the rights of assembly and of trial by jury. There was a broad statement regarding religious freedom, forbidding tests for office-holders, and likewise the compulsory support of religious institutions. Imprisonment for debt was forbidden after the debtor had surrendered his estate to his creditors unless there was a strong presumption of fraud. In an unusual section the philosophy underlying the ideal criminal code was outlined:

"All penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offence. No wise Legislature will affix the same punishment to the crimes of theft, forgery and the like, which they do to those of murder and treason. When the same undistinguishable severity is exerted against all offences, the people are led to forget the real distinction in the crimes themselves, and do commit the most flagrant with as little compunction as they do the slightest offences. For the same reasons, a multitude of sanguinary laws are both impolitic and unjust; the true design of all punishment being to reform, not to exterminate mankind."

The work of the Convention came to an end on the twenty-ninth day of November, with the members apparently rather well pleased with their handiwork. Even the Federalist minority was in no way embittered, for Cutler had won his points in regard to slavery and the judiciary, and Putnam had convinced the delegates in one of the closing sessions that counter-proposals should be submitted to Congress, particularly with regard to the distribution of the five-per cent. fund.[31] Cutler states that of all of the members of the Convention, possibly none were so well pleased as the Federalists, Putnam, Gilman and Wells.[32]

The Constitution was not submitted to the people for ratifica-

[31] Cutler, *Cutler*, 78.
[32] *Ibid.*, 70.

tion. A measure providing for its submission was lost early in the session by a vote of 27 to 7, the only votes in favor coming from the Federalists.[33] It is not necessary to dwell at length upon this action since the simplest explanation is that the submission of constitutions for ratification was by no means an invariable practise in that day and it was not thought an essential step in democratic procedure. A less charitable explanation would be that the members of the Convention wished to make it clear early in their deliberations that it would not be necessary to call the Territorial Legislature, which was scheduled to meet on November 22. There was some reason to suspect that St. Clair might attempt some sort of coup by means of the legislature. Cutler, possibly relying on afterthought, states that the members were eager for the offices which the new government would have at its disposal and they hastened the organization in order to forestall opposition. But of opposition there could have been but little, even if the document had been submitted to the electorate. William Creighton, Jr., a young Chillicothe attorney, wrote to his friend Worthington a few days after the adjournment, "The Sovereign People continue remarkably quiet. I must relate to you an anecdote of Daniel Hamilton. In this place the other day he was asked how the people of his neighborhood like the Constitution? He said they did not like it at *all* because it had no pictures in it." [34]

Worthington, who had proved his ability as a lobbyist, was sent to Washington bearing the completed work of the Convention. The Constitution received the approval of Congress and the counter-proposals to the Enabling Act were accepted.[35] While Worthington was on his mission his friends in Congress rejoiced over the summary dismissal of St. Clair. With this event, which to many Federalists seemed unnecessarily vindictive, the triumph of the Jeffersonians was complete.[36] To assure the permanence of

[33] Ryan, "From Charter to Constitution," 98.
[34] William Creighton, Jr., to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 31, 1802, Worthington MSS.
[35] Ryan, "From Charter to Constitution," 78-80.
[36] Creighton to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 27, 1802, Worthington MSS.

their victory they set about coordinating their efforts for carrying the special election which had been set for the second Tuesday in January.

An exasperated paragrapher, who called himself "Timothy Tickler, Esq.," once announced to the readers of a Chillicothe paper that he would bring out a volume entitled *The Legislative Log-Roller.*[37] He proposed to trace the origin of log-rolling to "the celebrated junto who in November, 1802, entered into a solemn league to divide the offices of the state among themselves." He would show, he said, how log-rolling had been used with incalculable advantage in erecting new counties, in laying out roads, in appointing road commissioners and other interesting enterprises. The book would have made interesting reading but it never progressed beyond the mock-serious prospectus. Much could have been made of the subject, for however charitably we may view the politicians of early Ohio, we cannot fail to observe that intrigue for office and political jobbery were common enough among them.

New political machinery is seldom erected with regard to the perfection of theory. If the political leaders who had achieved Ohio's statehood disregarded the minority in making up their first roll of State officials and retained political power in their own hands, their course was but common political practise. It was quite natural that the members of the Convention should have held a caucus prior to their adjournment to agree on nominees in the approaching election, for state-wide cooperation of similarly minded voters was difficult to attain in those days of slow communication.

The Constitution had provided that the first meeting of the General Assembly should be on the first Tuesday in March, 1803, and thereafter on the first Monday in December of each year. The regular State elections were to take place on the second Tuesday in October, but in order to inaugurate the new government a special election was to be held in January, at which the governor,

[37] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Jan. 26, 1809.

members of the March Assembly, sheriffs and coroners were to be chosen.

Edward Tiffin, whose popularity as well as ability made him a suitable candidate, was selected by the Republicans as their candidate for governor. His success was conceded from the outset and Federalist efforts in opposition were half-hearted. Gilman of Marietta, the Federalist candidate, received their votes in some counties, notably in Hamilton, where the party of the old governor was still alive. On learning that he was to have opposition Tiffin wrote Worthington facetiously that he was glad that the strength of the parties was to be tried, "more especially as it would have been an awkward cold race at this very inclement season of the year to have run all over the State of Ohio alone. . . ." [38] The Federalists even in Washington County were outnumbered two to one. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., the rising Republican leader of that section, wrote to Worthington that "the Federalists here have grown (if possible) more bitter than ever—they fulminate their anathemas against the Administration with unprecedented malice. Such was their obstinacy that (knowing that they could not carry a Federal Governor) they would not vote for Governor at all, but threw in blank ballots." [39]

The January election apparently attracted little public interest for the voting was notably light. Only 4,564 votes were found for Tiffin when the ballots were counted in the General Assembly, although the population of the State was in the neighborhood of 50,000.[40] In Hamilton County alone was there a semblance of a real contest. The Federalists under the leadership of Burnet drew up a ticket which included a number of prominent Republicans, with the idea, apparently, of carrying their own candidates by splitting the opposition.[41] In this they were unsuccessful, for the ticket sponsored by the Republican correspondence societies was easily victorious. Taking the State as a whole the Republicans were every-

[38] Edward Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Jan. 7, 1803, Worthington MSS.
[39] Return J. Meigs, Jr., to *id.*, Marietta, Jan. 31, 1803, *ibid.*
[40] Ohio General Assembly, Senate, *Journal*, 1 Assemb., 8.
[41] *Western Spy*, Jan. 5, 1803.

where successful, save in Jefferson County, where the Federalist ticket carried. It is interesting that the six Federalists who came to the Assembly from this county did not represent a New England constituency but rather the Steubenville neighborhood which was largely settled by Pennsylvanians.

When the General Assembly came together at Chillicothe on March 1, 1803, many of the legislators were old acquaintances. Twelve of the members of the Constitutional Convention had been elected to aid the new government in starting on its course. Worthington, recently returned from his Washington mission, was a member of the House. Michael Baldwin was elected speaker of that body. Nathaniel Massie presided over the Senate. William Creighton, Jr., was elected secretary of state. All of these men were from Chillicothe. When one adds the prestige of Tiffin, now governor, the weight of the Chillicothe junto seems heavy indeed in the councils of the new State.

The legislation enacted at the short spring session was for the purpose of effecting the transition from the Territorial stage. The measures taken were rather to meet the immediate requirements of the new government, financial and otherwise, than to devise a a system of laws to supplant the Territorial code, which was continued in force. The matters of the greatest moment to assemblymen were the selection of the roster of State officers and the erection of new counties.

It has already been noted that the appointive powers of the General Assembly were quite extensive. While political and even family connections frequently determined these appointments, there is little evidence that competence and training were disregarded. Creighton, for example, who served as secretary of state for the first five years of statehood, was a brother-in-law of Massie and Byrd, but the fact that he was a graduate of Dickinson College and that at twenty-five he was already a successful lawyer must have influenced his appointment.

The entire personnel of the State judiciary was selected at the March session. For the Supreme Court, Meigs of Marietta,



MAP 1. OHIO COUNTIES, 1803

After R. C. Downes, "Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), vol. XXXVI (1927), p. 362.

Samuel Huntington of Cleveland, and William Sprigg of Steubenville were chosen. All three men were competent and well educated; Meigs and Huntington were graduates of Yale. The presiding judges of the three circuits of the common pleas courts were Calvin Pease, Wyllys Silliman, and Francis Dunlavy. Pease, whose home was in Warren, was a native of Connecticut, where he had



Map 2. OHIO COUNTIES, 1806
After Downes, "Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," *loc. cit.*, p. 368.

studied law with his brother-in-law, Gideon Granger, who was now postmaster-general. Silliman, who lived in Zanesville, was also from Connecticut. He was the brother-in-law of Lewis Cass. Dunlavy has already been noted as one of the most profound scholars of Ohio. No apology need be offered for these appointees. They would doubtless have compared favorably with the judiciary in the older states.

The question of erection of new counties, always before the legislatures in the early years of the State, arose in the first Assembly. They set an example by creating eight: Butler, Columbiana, Franklin, Gallia, Greene, Montgomery, Scioto, and Warren. Much sharp political practise centered around this problem, for land values were greatly affected by the location of county-seats.[42] The Reverend Joseph Badger, prominent in the religious history of the Western Reserve, after having preached at Warren on November 11, 1803, noted in his diary, "People exceedingly stupid in regard to their eternal interests; but the little concern about where the county seat shall be, excites all their energies." [43]

An understanding in regard to United States senators had been reached during the Convention. The support of the Republicans was given to Worthington and John Smith, and they were elected without opposition. Worthington's efforts in behalf of statehood would thus be rewarded and the interests of the Cincinnati region would have a spokesman in Smith. A special election was set for June 21, 1803, for choosing Ohio's single congressman. Before adjournment the Republicans of the Assembly had given their approval in a caucus to Jeremiah Morrow of Warren County, but before the election other candidates entered the race, including the Republicans, Baldwin and Elias Langham, and the Federalist, William McMillan. The election is interesting because it gives an indication of the relative strength of the two parties. The Republicans received a total of 5,558 votes to McMillan's 1,873. Morrow won easily with 3,701. The Federalists carried only Butler County, where McMillan was personally popular, but they had substantial minorities in Jefferson and Washington counties. Jeremiah Morrow was Ohio's congressman from 1803 to 1813. Quiet and honest, as became a strict Presbyterian, he won admiration for his straightforward common sense rather than for his brilliance. Payson J. Treat, an authority on the national land system, says that he

[42] Burnet, *Notes*, 358.

[43] Joseph Badger, *Memoir . . . Containing an Autobiography; and Selections from His Private Journal and Correspondence* (Hudson, O., 1851), 86.

"was one of the sanest men who ever handled land legislation." [44]

Five different dates have been given by as many historians for the beginning of Ohio's statehood, and lively debates were once fought over the issue.[45] The various dates suggested were: the passage of the Enabling Act (April 30, 1802); the signing of the Constitution (Nov. 29, 1802); the passage of an act of Congress for the extension of the Federal laws to "the State of Ohio" (Feb. 19, 1803); the organization of the first General Assembly (March 1, 1803); and the congressional resolution which gave consent to a final modification of the Enabling Act (March 3, 1803). While the historians argued the matter, the State legislature, in order to determine when the first centennial celebration should properly begin, passed a joint resolution in April, 1902, declaring that March 1, 1803, the date of the organization of the first General Assembly, should henceforth be regarded as Ohio's natal day.

[44] Josiah Morrow, "Jeremiah Morrow," *"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* (Columbus, O.), IX (1906).

[45] E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio; the Rise and Progress of an American State* (New York, 1912), III, 150ff.

CHAPTER II

State Politics to 1812

THE political history of Ohio in the first decade of statehood is the story of the rise of two varieties of Republicanism, which at times were so evenly balanced that the Federalists had power beyond their numbers. We are dealing with politicians, not natives of the West, who had brought with them many of the political predispositions of the sections from which they came. Connecticut-born Jeffersonians might have been ostracized for political heresy at home and yet have found it difficult to see eye to eye with Jeffersonians whose background lay in Virginia. Agreement between these two political factions was the more difficult because sectional jealousy within the State tended to follow the same lines. The New England settlements of the Reserve and the Ohio Purchase produced Republican leaders, such as Samuel Huntington and Return J. Meigs, Jr., whose disagreement with Edward Tiffin, Thomas Worthington, and Nathaniel Massie of Chillicothe involved both honest differences in political theory and no small amount of personal rivalry. A struggle which grew to the proportions of a feud developed when the right of the courts to pass on the constitutionality of acts of the legislature was called in question by the Virginians. In that struggle the New Englanders were in the end successful, and the doctrine of judicial review was established, thereby duplicating on a smaller scale Chief Justice John Marshall's triumph over Thomas Jefferson. The bitterness engendered by this contest was allayed at last by the War of 1812 which gave the factions a cause in which they could work in harmony.[1]

[1] W. T. Utter, "Ohio Politics and Politicians, 1802-1815," 1929, MS. (in University of Chicago Library). Such chapters of this doctoral dissertation as have been printed will be cited below.

One should not assume that the first concern of the inhabitants of Ohio in this period was in politics. On the contrary politicians of the period worried over the indifference of the average citizen who gave almost his entire attention to the problems of bringing the newly cleared lands under cultivation. The farmers had been interested in the movement for statehood, but after that was achieved they went about their labors on the assumption, apparent but not expressed, that the less government the better. They were, however, perennially interested in local government and far from indifferent toward such matters as roads, bridges, the justice courts, and the assessment and collection of taxes.

The system of local government set up by the Constitution and subsequent legislation was something of a compromise between the county system of the Southern States and the township plan of New England. The county organization always overshadowed the townships, which was but natural, since counties were frequently organized while the population was still too sparse to warrant county subdivisions. In fact, the counties themselves were often erected before there was any considerable population and as much as eleven years elapsed between erection and organization, as the appended chronology of Ohio counties will show. The government in the interim was that of the parent county. The initial steps in the organization of new counties were taken by the court of common pleas which, it will be recalled, was appointed by the General Assembly. The court fixed the time and place of the first election, at which the commissioners, sheriff, and coroner were chosen. The court was empowered to appoint the surveyor, recorder, prosecuting attorney, and the clerk of the court, while the treasurer was chosen by the commissioners. These officials, together with the auditor, provided for in 1820, constituted the county roster.[2]

In the county organization the commissioners were the principal administrative officials. They were three in number with three-year terms so arranged that one was elected each year. Their first

[2] A historical essay on county offices appears in each *Inventory of County Archives*, comp. by the Historical Records Survey (Columbus, O., 1937-).

TABLE 1. ERECTION AND ORGANIZATION OF OHIO COUNTIES

County	*Erected*	*Organized*	*County*	*Erected*	*Organized*
Adams	1797	1797	Licking	1808	1808
Allen	1820	1831	Logan	1818	1818
Ashland	1846	1846	Lorain	1822	1824
Ashtabula	1808	1811	Lucas	1835	1835
Athens	1805	1805	Madison	1810	1810
Auglaize	1848	1848	Mahoning	1846	1846
Belmont	1801	1801	Marion	1820	1824
Brown	1818	1818	Medina	1812	1818
Butler	1803	1803	Meigs	1819	1819
Carroll	1833	1833	Mercer	1820	1824
Champaign	1805	1805	Miami	1807	1807
Clark	1818	1818	Monroe	1813	1815
Clermont	1800	1800	Montgomery	1803	1803
Clinton	1810	1810	Morgan	1817	1819
Columbiana	1803	1803	Morrow	1848	1848
Coshocton	1810	1811	Muskingum	1804	1804
Crawford	1820	1826	Noble	1851	1851
Cuyahoga	1808	1810	Ottawa	1840	1840
Darke	1809	1817	Paulding	1820	1839
Defiance	1845	1845	Perry	1818	1818
Delaware	1808	1808	Pickaway	1810	1810
Erie	1838	1838	Pike	1815	1815
Fairfield	1800	1800	Portage	1808	1808
Fayette	1810	1810	Preble	1808	1808
Franklin	1803	1803	Putnam	1820	1834
Fulton	1850	1850	Richland	1808	1813
Gallia	1803	1803	Ross	1798	1798
Geauga	1806	1806	Sandusky	1820	1820
Greene	1803	1803	Scioto	1803	1803
Guernsey	1810	1810	Seneca	1820	1824
Hamilton	1790	1790	Shelby	1819	1819
Hancock	1820	1828	Stark	1808	1809
Hardin	1820	1833	Summit	1840	1840
Harrison	1813	1813	Trumbull	1800	1800
Henry	1820	1834	Tuscarawas	1808	1808
Highland	1805	1805	Union	1820	1820
Hocking	1818	1818	Van Wert	1820	1837
Holmes	1824	1825	Vinton	1850	1850
Huron	1809	1815	Warren	1803	1803
Jackson	1816	1816	Washington	1788	1788
Jefferson	1797	1797	Wayne	1808	1812
Knox	1808	1808	Williams	1820	1824
Lake	1840	1840	Wood	1820	1820
Lawrence	1815	1817	Wyandot	1845	1845

duty was to levy and collect taxes for county expenses. They had charge also of the expenditure of a considerable part of the county's income, since the county court-house, jail, and office building were erected and maintained under their supervision. Roads and bridges likewise came under their authority, and when the period of

private turnpike building came to an end the commissioners had charge of the transactions by which these enterprises became public property. They also had to do with the care of the mentally disabled and the paupers within the county, although they were aided in this burden by township officials. As the provisions for county administration were elaborated by the General Assembly the commissioners, more often than not, found that their duties had been increased.

Townships were organized upon the initiative of the county commissioners. In the counties where the rectangular survey had been followed the political units usually, although not invariably, followed the lines of the surveyed townships; in other areas the size of the unit was limited by statute to a minimum of twenty-two square miles. Incorporated towns, however, might be organized as independent townships. By the wording of the Constitution all towns and township officers were to be elected annually, and by statute the election day was fixed for the first Monday in April. At this time three trustees, two overseers of the poor, two fence-viewers, two appraisers of property, one township clerk, and a treasurer were chosen. Justices of the peace, who had been provided for by the Constitution, were elected for a term of three years, their number in the county being determined by the court of common pleas. The township trustees were the principal administrative officers, with duties which included supervision of district roads, and the power, under certain limitations, of collecting taxes for use within the township. They determined the number of road supervisors and constables necessary for the township, although these were elective rather than appointive officials.

This system of local government, in spite of some duplication of function in county and township officers, served well in the State's formative period. One of its principal virtues was in its elasticity, for, although it was planned for an agricultural society with widely dispersed settlements, its framework easily accommodated itself to increasing population and the growth of cities.

The political parties worked with counties as their units. When

the assemblymen returned from the meeting of the legislature they brought with them reports of the caucuses held during the session, thereby accomplishing some unanimity in the election of the governor and the congressman. But in the selection of nominees for the General Assembly and for the county officers an interesting procedure developed which seems to have been generally followed. Delegates from the townships would meet at the county-seat some weeks before the October elections in response to a call usually issued through the county newspaper. In harmonious times the county convention would print a list of nominees whom all right-minded voters were urged to support, but in periods of dissension rival tickets frequently resulted which would be in agreement only on certain popular candidates.[3]

The newspapers of the time filled a most important place in the political scheme. The papers of Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Marietta, and other centers, had a State-wide circulation and each copy doubtless passed through many hands. These early western newspapers were much alike in general make-up. They were printed on tough rag paper with type that often showed the effect of long service. Almost invariably the paper was made up of a single large sheet folded once, thus making four pages of reading matter. All Ohio papers prior to the War of 1812 were issued as weeklies, the date of publication coinciding with the arrival of the eastern mail. This latter arrangement becomes clear after a short reading acquaintance, for the bulk of the news came from eastern newspapers and correspondence. Foreign news was given special prominence and it was actually easier for the subscriber to follow the career of Napoleon than it was that of Jefferson. Local news was not valued highly, and critical editorials were rather infrequent. But during the course of political campaigns, contributors hiding behind dignified pen-names dealt heavy rhetorical blows. When rival editors held opposing views on political questions the verbal duels gave new life to the pages, and the historically minded reader rejoices in

[3] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette,* Nov. 19, 1804; Lewis Cass to Thomas Worthington, "Wachatomaka near Zanesville," Aug. 14, 1807, Worthington MSS.

the opportunity for sharpening his wits in the endeavor to find the truth among the charges and countercharges.[4]

Possibly the most important paper in the early years of Ohio's statehood was the *Scioto Gazette* which was usually in close harmony with the political leaders of Chillicothe. The contracts for State printing were frequently given to the owners of this paper. In 1808 the *Supporter* was inaugurated in Chillicothe declaring its opposition to Republicanism in general and to the *Scioto Gazette* in particular. The editor, George Nashee, wrote in his first issue, "We have long groped in the dark paths of raging democracy." He proposed, he said, to lead his readers in the paths sanctioned by the sainted George Washington.[5] In Cincinnati there were two or more newspapers after the year 1804. The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* was founded in 1799 and had early shown a liberal attitude in politics. Its rival was the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury* founded in 1804 by John W. Browne, a member of the Constitutional Convention. It seems fair to say that Browne followed a trimming course, changing his editorial tack to suit the majority of his readers.

There is no doubt that the political leaders of Ohio fully appreciated the importance of the press. To select only one illustration by way of proof one may quote from the Tiffin correspondence. When it became clear in 1807 that he would be chosen United States senator he attempted to interest Worthington in running for governor. "By securing [the cooperation of] Meigs," he wrote to Worthington, "we can have the Marietta press. Collins of the Scioto Gazette is your warm friend and we can get Browne of Cincinnati. . . ." [6] On another occasion he wrote to Worthington recommending a certain Republican for the position of receiver of public lands at Steubenville. After testifying that the candidate was a man of correct principles and that he was as firm as a rock, the governor added that a relative would set up a Republican paper

[4] O. C. Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism, 1793-1933* (Columbus, O., 1933).
[5] Oct. 6, 1808.
[6] Letter of Feb. 5, 1807, Worthington MSS.

in Steubenville in case the senator could arrange the appointment.[7]

As one turns through the newspapers of 1804–06, there is abundant evidence that the machinery of the Republican Party was working smoothly. The legislative records bear testimony of the effectiveness of this machine in the field of constructive lawmaking. The Constitution of 1803 had quite properly furnished only the framework of government; the early legislators busied themselves in completing the structure.

One of the most pressing needs was for the enactment of a systematic criminal code. The legislature of the spring of 1803 had postponed the matter by providing that the Territorial code should remain in force until it was superseded. Following a recommendation of Tiffin, a committee of the General Assembly of 1804–05 undertook the compilation of a criminal code. Secretary of State William Creighton, Jr., acted as clerk of this committee and, as a well-trained lawyer, he contributed largely to the work of the codifiers.[8] The punishments provided by the code were severe. Treason, murder, rape, malicious maiming, and arson were made capital offenses, while whipping was substituted for imprisonment as punishment for many less serious crimes.[9]

The work of the committee was presented to the legislature and, with some modifications, was enacted into law in the course of the session. In conformity with the practise which had been general since colonial times, the English common law was given force within the State. The Act of February 14, 1805, which accomplished this, read as follows: "Be it enacted. . . . That the common law of England, all statutes or acts of the British parliament, made in aid of the common law, prior to the fourth year of King James the first, and which are of general nature not local to the kingdom, and also the several laws in force in this state, shall be the rule of decision and shall be considered as of full force, until repealed by the general assembly of this state." [10]

[7] Letter of Dec. 29, 1803, *ibid.*
[8] Duncan McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 21, 1804, *ibid.*
[9] Discussion of the punishment of crimes is reserved for a later chapter.
[10] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Statutes of Ohio* (ed. by S. P. Chase), I, 512.

There had been growing in the Eastern States a feeling that the English common law was a badge of subservience to the mother country and as the anti-British spirit mounted in the period before the War of 1812, several states repealed the acts which had given force to the English common law.[11] In Ohio the attack on the common law was led by Tiffin. In his address at the opening of the Assembly in December, 1805, he alluded to the act of the previous session quoted above. It was absurd, in his opinion, to give force to statutes passed centuries before in support of the common law, for not only were the antiquated volumes containing such statutes unavailable, but the statutes in many cases would be found repugnant to the spirit of American government.[12]

The legislators were not averse to carrying out the governor's recommendation that action should be taken to displace the English system, and after some debate they took the simple expedient of repealing the act which had given it force. Their action was hailed by the Federalists as an unequalled example of Jeffersonian incompetence and stupidity. One of them, Zenas Kimberly of Jefferson County, wrote to a friend in Detroit in tones both sarcastic and lugubrious:

"Our assembly rose last week after a session of about two months—and what do you think they were about all that time? Not, indeed, like the other sagacious legislative bodies of modern times enacting laws to encourage the killing of wolves, to prevent swine from running at large, regulating estrays etc, Etc, Etc! No Sir! These wise gentlemen discovered that we had laws already in existence touching these important subjects, and being unable to devise employments for themselves for the eight or ten weeks which they had counted upon dedicating to legislative amusement they magnanimously undertook the glorious task of delivering the people of this state from the despotical tyranny of the common law. . . .

[11] W. T. Utter, "Ohio and the English Common Law," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.), XVI (1929), 321-3. Hereafter this periodical is cited *M. V. H. Rev.*

[12] Ohio General Assembly, House, *Journal*, 4 Assemb., 1805-06, 13ff.

"When I contemplate this equalizing, disorganizing, Jacobinical procedure of the legislature, when I look forward to the point at which this mad enthusiasm will terminate I am almost glad that I have neither wife nor children to encrease my anxiety." [13]

Such men as Kimberly predicted that the bar and bench would shortly inform the legislators that the validity of the common law rested on a much more secure foundation than the statute which they had repealed with such slight consideration. It is impossible to learn precisely what the reaction of the early courts may have been, but some ten years later Judge John McLean, then of the State Supreme Court, accepted it as a fact that there were no common law crimes in Ohio.[14] A later judge stated the principle succinctly in the following words: "*Felon* and *feloniously* are without meaning in Ohio save as the import is fixed by statute." [15] It may be safely asserted that as a result of the legislation of 1806, passed at the instance of the English-born governor, Ohio to this day has no crimes at common law. In civil cases, however, common law rulings have frequently been accepted in the absence of specific legislation.

Another phase of legislation, which doubtless was of greater interest to the average citizen, was that dealing with taxation. A general land tax was devised, the proceeds of which were apportioned one-third to the counties and the balance to the State. All taxed lands were divided into three classes solely on the basis of their suitability for agriculture. By the Act of February 18, 1804, the rates for the three classes were placed at seventy, fifty, and twenty-six cents per hundred acres, but these rates were raised to ninety, sixty-five, and forty cents a year later.[16] This method of levying the land tax reveals the typically western prejudice against the non-resident landholder, for by taxing the land on the basis of its fertility rather than on the state of its improvement the pioneers

[13] Quoted by M. M. Quaife, *M. V. H. Rev.*, XII (1925), 627.
[14] *Peter Landerback* v. *John Moore,* reported in Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Mercury,* July 14, 1817.
[15] *Mitchell* v. *State,* 42 *Ohio State Reports* 386.
[16] Ohio Laws, *Statutes* (Chase), I, 414, 508.

felt that they were at the same time rendering justice to the resident farmer and discouraging those who held land for speculation. But when an act was passed requiring the registration of taxable land with a lister in each township and when payment had to be made to a collector in each township, the smallness of the tax unit worked an injustice on the non-resident. Tiffin wrote to Worthington that "Non-residents might almost as well abandon their lands as to have to attend in every township to pay the tax, or suffer the sale of their property." [17] This injustice was remedied by an act of January 27, 1806, which provided that non-residents might pay their taxes at six designated centers.[18]

The township arrangement for the collection of taxes mentioned in the last paragraph is but another evidence of the decentralizing tendency which was a marked characteristic of early legislation in Ohio. It has already been noted that the Supreme Court had the laborious duty of holding one session annually in each county-seat. In order to make the course of justice in its lower branches within reach of all, a considerable body of opinion demanded that the power of justices of the peace should be increased. This agitation was effective, for the legislature of 1804–05 passed an act which permitted the magistrates to hear civil cases in which as much as fifty dollars was involved.[19] It was this act of the legislature which the courts later called in question, thereby precipitating the feud which gave color to the first ten years of political history in Ohio. Before entering into a discussion of this important struggle it may be well to review the course of politics, particularly as it applied to the governorship.

Dr. Edward Tiffin, suave in speech and magnetic in personality, had very definite political aspirations. While he was governor, the Republican Party, still feeling the impetus of their great victory in 1803, maintained control over the State with little indication of internal discord. In October, 1805, he had been reelected governor

[17] Letter of Jan. 2, 1806, Worthington MSS.
[18] Ohio Laws, *Statutes* (Chase), I, 536.
[19] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Acts*, 3 Assemb., 1804-05, 21.

without opposition, so great was his hold on Ohioans and their political leaders. In December, 1806, the Aaron Burr plot with its lurid implications came to light, throwing Ohio, and the Nation, too, for that matter, into the wildest excitement. Against this background Tiffin stood out as the man of action, inciting the legislature to action, issuing warrants, and urging the assemblymen to pass resolutions of loyalty to the Nation. His skill in handling the emergency and his obvious sincerity increased his popularity at home, if that were possible, and made him something of a national figure.[20] On the crest of this wave of popularity Tiffin decided to become a candidate for the United States Senate, with the consent and blessing of Worthington, whose place he hoped to fill. His opponent was Philemon Beecher of Lancaster, an able lawyer with definite inclinations toward the Federalist Party. The outcome of the legislative ballot gave Tiffin a majority of two to one over his opponent.[21]

The remaining part of Tiffin's second term would automatically be filled by Thomas Kirker, the Scotch-Irishman, who was president of the Senate. He would serve, it was supposed, from March 4, 1807, when Tiffin's resignation would become effective, until December of that year, when the successful candidate of the October election would be inaugurated. Among the first leaders suggested for the vacancy were Massie of Chillicothe and Meigs of Marietta. Neither of these candidates met with the approval of Tiffin, for he had a personal grievance against Massie, and he seems to have distrusted Meigs. He therefore urged Worthington to allow his name to be presented, but Worthington postponed his decision and after a period of hesitation decided not to run.[22]

In the election Meigs received 4,531 votes to Massie's 4,361, a decision so close that the legislature investigated alleged irregularities in the returns, with the result that Meigs's majority was cut down slightly. The victory of the Yankee from Marietta was not

[20] The Aaron Burr episode will be treated in the next chapter.
[21] Edward Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Jan. 3, 1807, Worthington MSS.
[22] *Id.* to *id.*, Chillicothe, Feb. 5, 1807, in D. M. Massie, *Nathaniel Massie, a Pioneer of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1896), 245ff.

to the liking of the Chillicotheans, despite his good record as a Republican. It had been only too evident that he had received the support of the Federalists, who apparently considered him the lesser of two evils. Shortly after the Assembly convened in December, 1807, proceedings were opened by Massie who, apparently at Worthington's suggestion, contested the election of Meigs on constitutional grounds.[23] The Constitution required that the governor must be a resident of the State for four years preceding his election. Massie presented a memorial pointing out that Meigs's residence as a judge in Louisiana Territory and the fact that he was under appointment to a judgeship in Michigan Territory made his eligibility doubtful. Meigs countered by asserting that he had been a resident of Louisiana only eight months and that he had considered his home as being in Marietta, where his family had remained. In a joint session of the houses, held December 30, 1807, it was decided by a vote of 24 to 20 that Meigs was not eligible.[24]

Massie, Tiffin, and Worthington thus defeated Meigs through a technicality. Their motives are not clear, although one may conjecture that Massie precipitated the contest in favor of Kirker, who continued to act as governor. Tiffin and Worthington apparently did not trust Meigs and may have honestly believed that he was ineligible. An unbiased student must be suspicious that the political pool was thus made muddy in order to improve the fishing. Worthington, in any case, early announced that he would be a candidate for the governorship in the election of October, 1808. His opponent, it soon became apparent, was to be Chief Justice Samuel Huntington of the State Supreme Court. Huntington was a man whose point of view was much like that of Meigs, since both were Connecticut-born and graduates of Yale College.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the contest between Worthington and Huntington involved the whole dogma of Jeffersonian Democracy. Prior to the election the State was thrown

[23] A full discussion of this election is *ibid.*
[24] Ohio General Assembly, Senate, *Journal*, 6 Assemb., 1807-08, 59.

into an uproar when the courts declared an important act of the legislature unconstitutional. Huntington, as chief justice, had rendered the decision, and Worthington in the General Assembly had led the opposition to what he described as a usurpation of power by the courts.

It has already been noted that the Constitution of 1802 had created a powerful legislature. Would a body thus powerful brook limitation from any source? It is obvious that bounds were set by constitutions of both the State and Nation. The fact that these constitutions were written and that, in theory at least, they embodied the will of the "sovereign people" on matters of fundamental law, would convince the logically minded advocate of legislative supremacy that the "acts" of the state legislature need not be "law" in every case. But after admitting that an unconstitutional act would not be law, he might ask to be shown why the legislature was not as fully competent to pass on the matter of constitutionality as was any other department of government. In fact he might assert that legislative interpretation of the Constitution would be most consistent with democratic principles, since the legislature reflected most accurately the ideas of the sovereign people. The courts in several of the older states had asserted that the final decision as to the meaning of constitutions rested with them. In the very year of Ohio's admission to the Union, John Marshall on behalf of the Supreme Court of the United States announced the same principle in the famous case of *Marbury* v. *Madison,* and Jefferson with all his wrath and power could do nothing to overthrow the decision. The opposing principles, *legislative supremacy* and *judicial review* engendered in Ohio a conflict which in its initial stages centered in dignified impeachment proceedings but in the end led to what might with some politeness be described as political chicanery.[25]

Judge Calvin Pease, presiding in the circuit court of the eastern district was the first to declare an act of the legislature unconstitutional. Like Huntington and George Tod, justices of the Supreme Court, he was from Connecticut, where he had studied law with

[25] W. T. Utter, "Judicial Review in Early Ohio," *M. V. H. Rev.,* XIV (1927), 3-24.

his brother-in-law, Gideon Granger, now Jefferson's postmaster-general. In the course of his duties in 1806, Pease was called upon to decide cases arising under the statute of two years before, which had given justices of the peace jurisdiction in civil suits involving as much as fifty dollars. Pease and his associates in Belmont and Jefferson counties had declared the act unconstitutional. The legislature of 1806–07, which was already engaged in the impeachment of one of the circuit judges on the ground of malconduct, appointed a committee to look into the decision rendered by Pease, but failed to take action against him.[26]

The same "fifty-dollar law" which had evoked the Pease decision came before the Supreme Court in August, 1807. A certain Daniel M'Faddon brought suit against Benjamin Rutherford for thirty-five dollars in the court of Justice of the Peace Benjamin Hough of Steubenville. M'Faddon obtained a judgment, but Rutherford on a writ of certiorari carried the case to the Court of Common Pleas of Jefferson, where the decision of Hough was upheld. Rutherford then obtained a hearing before the Supreme Court at its Steubenville session on a writ of error. In similar opinions Huntington and Tod declared that Hough was not competent to render a decision involving more than twenty dollars, because the legislative act which permitted him to do so was unconstitutional.[27] It is in Huntington's opinion that one finds most clearly stated the essential point in the doctrine of judicial review: that the legislature is ultimately bound by the court's interpretation of the Constitution. He proceeded to his conclusion with the same invulnerable logic which Marshall had used a few years earlier. The court, Huntington insisted, was not desirous of altering or repealing any *law,* "but when the case occurs, they must in compliance with their duty, compare the legislative *act* with the *Constitution,* and if they find such act contrary to the constitution, or prohibited by it, . . . it is the duty of the court to declare it *no law.*" To hold otherwise would force one of two absurd conclusions, either that there could

[26] Ohio, *House Journal,* 5 Assemb., 1806-07, 78ff.

[27] Reported decisions of the Ohio State Supreme Court do not antedate 1823. The text of the two opinions in this case are in *Liberty Hall,* Nov. 3, 10, 1807.

be two supreme authorities within the State (the legislature and the Constitution), or that the Constitution was itself void.

After justifying the practise of judicial review in a general way, Huntington proceeded to the particular application. The Ohio Constitution of 1802 states that "the right of trial by jury shall be inviolate." He held that the right to be thus preserved was that guaranteed by the articles of government at the time Ohio adopted her Constitution. Both the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States provided for the right of trial by jury, the latter specifying that the right applied in all matters save those of simple contracts under twenty dollars. Since the act in question permitted justices to adjudicate civil suits involving as much as fifty dollars it was clear that a right had been destroyed. Nor did the privilege of appeal from the justice court modify the question, for the right guaranteed was that of *trial,* not of *final decision* by a jury.

The importance of the principles announced by Huntington and Tod was quickly recognized. The opinions were widely circulated through the newspapers and before the meeting of the General Assembly in December, 1807, every legislator was well acquainted with the sensational pronouncement of the Supreme Court. A Chillicothe correspondent of *Liberty Hall* of Cincinnati gave a lively description of the scene at the State capital:

"In this town, the present seat of our government, all is bustle and contradiction. Legislators, governors, judges, lawyers, and farmers, are all together pell-mell. 'The constitution of the state is violated,' say the judges, 'and your fifty-dollar act is void.' Legislators retort and enquire of the judges, who authorized them to arraign the constitutionality of laws sanctioned by the legislature: 'Hath not the potter power over the clay?' Lawyers support the judges as a co-ordinate, not a subordinate branch of the government, and farmers contend, that all the justices and constables of the state are ruined if the fifty-dollar act be not supported at all hazard. The first arguing from principle, the latter from consequence. . . ." [28]

[28] *Ibid.,* Jan. 11, 1808.

Acting Governor Thomas Kirker's message called attention to the difficulties in collecting sums between twenty and fifty dollars resulting from the decision of the courts, with the comment that he trusted that the General Assembly would make whatever adjustments were necessary. Worthington, now retired from the United States Senate, was a member of the House at this session, and he was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the decision of the court. The committee reported a resolution: "That the judges of this state are not authorized by the constitution, to set aside an act of the legislature by declaring the law unconstitutional or null or void." [29] Two or three days were spent in debating the resolution, and on January 4 it was approved by a vote in the House of eighteen to twelve. It did not pass the Senate, however, and the supporters of the resolution in the House seemed to shrink from following it up with impeachment. It was in this same session that the Meigs-Massie dispute had arisen; perhaps that was enough excitement for one year.

The court controversy was projected into the race for governor, in which Worthington and Huntington were the leading candidates. Kirker was also a candidate, to the annoyance of the friends of Worthington, who rightly guessed that he would receive support from voters who otherwise would have preferred Worthington to Huntington. In politics all three candidates were nominally Democratic Republicans and most accounts seek to explain this and other early elections in Ohio as personal contests. It is probably not true that the court controversy was the sole issue in this election, but Worthington by his activity in the legislature had shown himself as a firm opponent of "judicial encroachment." "You have rendered yourself extremely obnoxious to our Judges by attempting to set bounds to their ambitions," wrote Benjamin Tappan to Worthington.[30]

Huntington, as a Connecticut man, naturally relied on the New England settlements for strong support, and in this he was not

[29] Ohio, *House Journal*, 6 Assemb., 1807-08, 43ff.
[30] Letter dated Sept. 15, 1808, Worthington MSS.

disappointed, for even the Federalists, who had no candidate, supported him wholeheartedly. "A Federalist Lawyer," writing in the Chillicothe *Supporter* two years later, attributed Huntington's victory to the Federalist vote. The Federalists supported him, this writer said, "because Gen. Worthington and his friends placed the controversy on such grounds as left them no alternative." [31] One of Huntington's strongest supporters was Pease, which was but natural, since both represented the Connecticut tradition, and moreover, Pease stood to rise or fall with Huntington and Tod in the court controversy.

Samuel Huntington became Ohio's third governor by the grace of Federalist support and the division of the opposition. The vote stood Huntington, 7,293, Worthington 5,601, and Kirker 3,397. The total vote in this election was approximately twice that cast in the election of the previous year, which is a clear indication of popular excitement over the court issue. In spite of this victory of one of the offending judges as governor, it did not follow that the Assembly elected with him would be friendly to the courts. It was unfriendly in fact, for within a few days after the meeting of the legislature, the House had a committee at work inquiring into the official conduct of Huntington, Tod, and Pease, with the privilege "to exhibit articles of impeachment, or report otherwise." [32]

The committee reported articles of impeachment against both Tod and Pease, sparing Huntington out of respect for his office. Separate charges were drawn up against Pease and Tod, but in essence they referred to their exercise of the power of judicial nullification. Pease, it was charged, "at divers times did adjudicate and determine, that the court had full power to set aside, suspend and declare null and void, any act or acts of the legislature," and that he had done so in certain cases, "to the great perversion of justice, and the open violation of the constitution and laws of the state." [33]

[31] Aug. 11, 1810.
[32] Ohio, *House Journal*, 7 Assemb., 1808-09, 47.
[33] *Ibid.*, 73ff.



MAP 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1810

Tod's decision in the case of *Rutherford* v. *M'Faddon,* the committee averred, was "to the evil example of all good citizens of the state of Ohio . . . contrary to its constitution and laws; disgraceful to his own character as a judge, and degrading to the honor and dignity of the state of Ohio." [34] Here was no mincing of words.

The machinery of impeachment trials was working smoothly,

[34] *Ibid.,* 79ff.

due to almost annual use. The indictments were presented to the offenders and dates were set for their appearance before the Senate, sitting as a high court. On January 9 Tod appeared with his counsel and the trial commenced. Four of Ohio's prominent attorneys defended him: William Creighton, Jr., and Henry Brush of Chillicothe, the Federalist Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, and Lewis Cass, a rising young lawyer of the Zanesville neighborhood.

Five days were consumed by the trial and it is evident that elaborate arguments were presented by both sides. The address made by Lewis Cass called for the praise of a contributor to the Chillicothe *Supporter* who wrote that his performance was such "as did honor to his head and heart. His language was correct, bold and energetic. It discovered ingenuity, good reasoning and sterling merit." [35] It is to be regretted that the abbreviated journal of the trial does not record what was perhaps the first important performance of a man who was destined to be praised by a much larger audience.[36]

Tod's answer to the indictment was to review the case of *Rutherford* v. *M'Faddon* and to state the argument on which he based his decision. He disclaimed having had any wicked motive in rendering his decision since he held that the question was judicial in character and cognizable to his court. He asserted that he might rest his case at this point, since it was clear that rendering a decision could not be held a crime if no malicious motive were provable. He chose, however, to state the principles which led him to exercise the power of vetoing a legislative act.

His argument upholding judicial nullification follows the familiar logic of Marshall and Huntington. Since it was obvious that the legislature has no power to pass an unconstitutional act, it follows that judges, when confronted with an act which in their opinion is unconstitutional, are bound to declare it void. In reply the House managers went directly to the issue: Do courts have the power to set aside acts of the legislature? Since the power is not

[35] Communication signed "A Stranger," Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Jan. 26, 1809.
[36] Ohio, *Senate Journal,* 7 Assemb., 1808-09, Appendix.

specifically granted by the Constitution, can it be shown to exist by necessary implication? Their argument consisted of a lengthy analysis of the distribution of power under the Constitution. The legislative function was held to be the power to declare "what is or what is not law." The duty of the judiciary consisted in expounding the laws in conformity with the intention of the lawmakers, and this was the true limit of the right of the courts to say "what law is."

The managers continued by showing the inconveniences and inconsistencies which would follow the exercise of such powers by the courts and concluded that judicial review could not be derived from the Constitution by implication. The only argument in favor of the power which deserved consideration, they asserted, was that the courts might in this fashion exert a healthful check upon the legislature. But a sufficient and far more significant check already existed in the annual elections. Tod, they concluded, was not guilty of a mere error in judgment, but of an attempted usurpation of power. The vote of the Senate, taken on January 20, 1809, stood guilty 15, not guilty 9. Since a two-thirds majority was required for conviction, Tod escaped by the narrow margin of one vote.

Pease defended himself in much the same fashion as Tod. His defense may be summarized by repeating his most telling illustration. If A and B should come into court, A claiming a right guaranteed by the Constitution and B a right secured by an act of the legislature, it was plain that each had a right to a hearing. If it be true that the Constitution is the supreme law, the court must unavoidably uphold A if he proves his contention. In the vote on the essential charge against Pease the division was precisely the same as in Tod's case.

The gravest crisis in the history of the Ohio judiciary passed with the acquittal of the two judges. The practise of judicial review has so long been accepted as part of the American system of government that the present day reader must be reminded that it was not received as a matter of course in the early history of the judiciary, but was in fact established by just such episodes as that here re-

UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS LIBRARY

lated. The unassailable logic of John Marshall and lesser judges such as Tod and Pease established an essential, though possibly not altogether democratic, part of the mechanism of the American political system.

Three Connecticut Yankees had thus won a victory which true followers of Thomas Jefferson could describe only as a great disaster. They had been opposed by a clear majority in both houses of the Assembly, but that majority fell short of the effective two-thirds. This majority now looked about for means of expressing its wrath, and it chose the rather childish measure of amending the "fifty-dollar" law by extending the competence of justices of the peace to seventy dollars! It was not until the opening of the next legislature, in December, 1809, that means were found for attacking the offending judges who appeared to their critics as so smugly self-assured.

The attack was opened by a writer who signed himself "A Lawyer" in a contribution to the Chillicothe *Supporter* of December 30, 1809. He called attention to the approach of the seventh anniversary of the State and reminded his readers that according to the Constitution a number of officials, including the judges of the Supreme and inferior courts, should hold their offices for seven years. "It seems to me most rational," wrote the lawyer, "that the words 'shall hold their offices for seven years' create an entire integral term, at the end of which all the offices become vacant, and the power of appointment returns again to the people."

This was the forewarning of a resolution shortly passed by the legislature which was then in session. This clumsily worded measure, after referring to offices which carried a seven-year appointment, stated that vacancies should be construed as arising at the end of the period, even if an interim appointment had been made.[37] The bearing of this resolution on the court fight was clear enough. At one sweep it would vacate all seven-year offices and make it possible to fill the judgeships with men who were in agreement with the will of the majority of the legislature. Pease, having had his

[37] Ohio Laws, *Acts*, 8 Assemb., 1809-10, 349ff.



5. SECOND STATE CAPITOL, ZANESVILLE
The wings were additions to the original building. Courtesy of Ohio State Museum.

office since 1803, recognized that his service would end in 1810, unless he should be reappointed. It was different with Tod, for he had come in office in 1806 under what was then the current impression that he would serve until 1813. It is not surprising that we find the opposition to the measure made up of the group which had defended the judges in the impeachment proceedings of the previous year.

Other issues were tied up with the so-called "sweeping resolves." Chillicothe was not designated as the permanent capital, and the time had come to determine the location of the permanent seat of government. The charge was openly made at the time that offices placed at the disposal of the legislature by the sweeping resolution were used to obtain votes for the removal of the capital to Zanesville. Duncan McArthur, in an article in which he was defending himself against a charge of dishonesty in gambling, wrote of an-

other type of gambling in which larger stakes were involved. "Was not the seat of government removed from Chillicothe to Zanesville by political gambling, and did not Mr. Tiffin's "sweeping resolution" furnish the funds which were employed for the purpose; and did not those who wished a removal, form themselves into a gambling party and play off the offices which were made vacant by the said resolution, for the seat of government?" [38] It must be remarked that these charges were made in the heat of a newspaper war, but an examination of the journals in opposition gives no indication of disproof of McArthur's charges.

Thomas Scott, W. W. Irwin, and Ethan Allen Brown were elected to fill the Supreme bench when it should become vacant in April, 1810. Irwin as senator had voted for finding Tod guilty; Brown and Scott, while not members of the legislature, had been talked of openly as the men to fill the judgeships in case the impeachment had been successful.[39] There seems to be conclusive evidence that the judges chosen were, or at least were thought to be, not too ardent in their support of the authority of the courts. A friend of Brown's congratulated him on his appointment to the judgeship in these jubilant terms: "Thanks to a good destiny! The Democracy of Ohio is yet triumphant—the insidiousness of quiddism and the wickedness of federalism to the contrary notwithstanding." [40]

In the face of this success of the opponents of judicial review it may seem as if the victory of Pease and Tod in the previous session was a barren one. This, together with the passage of the "seventy-dollar" law, leads one to question whether judicial review was established after all. Unquestionably, judges were for several years hesitant in exercising the power, but a search of the State records fails to disclose any later attempt to call the power of the judges in question by impeachment proceedings.[41] In 1815 Pease was ap-

[38] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Fredonian,* Oct. 9, 1811.

[39] Stephen Wood to E. A. Brown, Chillicothe, Jan. 6, 1809, Brown MSS. (in Ohio State Library).

[40] John Hamm to *id.,* Chillicothe, Feb. 11, 1810, *ibid.*

[41] J. H. Hixson, "Judicial Veto in Ohio," 1922, MS. (in Ohio State University Library), M. A. thesis.

pointed to the State Supreme Court and in the same year Tod became presiding judge of the third circuit of the common pleas court. This would seem to be vindication.

The "sweeping resolution" proved to be a political boomerang. It engendered almost as much excitement, if one may judge from the newspapers, as the Burr affair did in 1806. The schism among the Republicans followed the same lines as the division which had resulted over the impeachment of the judges but it was even more clear-cut. The quarrel, clearly enough, was driving moderate Republicans, whom their opponents now called "quids," into the arms of the Federalists. In combination they had elected Huntington governor and it seemed as if they might choose not only the governor but a sufficient number of assemblymen to repeal the obnoxious resolution in the approaching election of October, 1810. At this juncture Tammany societies made their appearance in Ohio. They were organized in defense of the Republicanism which had impeached the judges and had passed the sweeping resolution.[42]

The history of Tammany societies in other states than New York is obscure. The New York organization, which first attracted public notice in the 1790's, seems to have had little connection with a contemporary Philadelphia organization which was also called after the Indian saint. The political effectiveness of the New York society was observed by politicians of other states and it is doubtless for this reason that there seems to have been a considerable spread of the Tammany idea about the year 1810.[43] In that year Michael Leib, Philadelphia politician, was grand sachem of the society in that city, and from him a dispensation was obtained by Thomas Lloyd and others for the erection of a wigwam in Chillicothe.[44] Lloyd was evidently the correspondent for an interested group including Worthington, Tiffin and many of their associates.

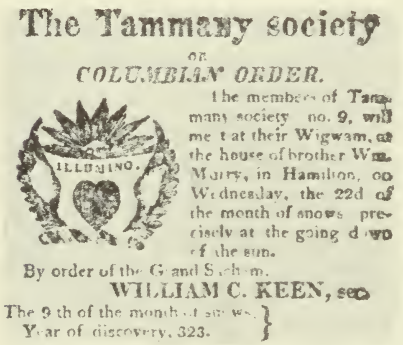
The ritual of the order must have had an appeal to the frontiers-

[42] W. T. Utter, "Saint Tammany in Ohio: a Study in Frontier Politics," *M. V. H. Rev.*, XV (1928), 321-40.

[43] M. W. Jernegan, "Tammany Societies in Rhode Island," *Papers from the Historical Seminar of Brown University* (Providence, 1897), VIII.

[44] The dispensation, dated Feb. 4, 1810, is printed in S. W. Williams, "Tammany Society in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXII (1913), 354.

man. Many of the features of the organization are reminiscent of Freemasonry, but the outward trappings were borrowed from the Indians, and the poetic phraseology of the ritual was intended to imitate the style of the Redmen. The master of the wigwam was the grand sachem, who was assisted by thirteen sachems, each representing one of the original states. The sachems together formed a council, with a "father" as a presiding officer. These officials were elected each year. Minor officials included the wiskinki, who carried the keys, and three sagamores who had duties connected with the initiation of new members. Membership was carefully safeguarded, for one must submit his request for admission in writing, and come recommended by two members. A committee made inquiry into the moral and political fitness of the candidate, and if a favorable report was made his name was voted on, two votes out of sixteen being sufficient to "blackball" him.


The Tammany society
OR
COLUMBIAN ORDER.
ILLUMINO.
The members of Tammany society no. 9, will meet at their Wigwam, at the house of brother Wm. Marry, in Hamilton, on Wednesday, the 22d of the month of snows precisely at the going down of the sun.
By order of the Grand Sachem.
WILLIAM C. KEEN, sec.
The 9th of the month of snows
Year of discovery, 323.

6. A TAMMANY ADVERTISEMENT From Hamilton (Ohio) *Miami Intelligencer*, Feb. 16, 1815.

The twelfth of May, St. Tammany's birthday, was elaborately celebrated by his followers. The members of the wigwam assembled in the early morning to listen to a "long talk" by the grand sachem. They paraded in full regalia to the tavern or grove where dinner was served. Here more speeches were made and toasts were drunk, "with cold water only," a Methodist member carefully specifies. The Fourth of July was celebrated with great spirit also, and in many instances the Tammany society organized the festivities in which all citizens of "republican principles" were invited to join.

The political purposes of the society were not revealed in its constitution, hence the document was publicly circulated.[45] Both

[45] A copy of the constitution is in Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland. It is also printed in *Liberty Hall*, June 11, 1811.

the ostensible and real purposes of the society are recorded in a journal kept by a member of the Chillicothe Wigwam. "The *object* of this association is expressed in its constitution, to-wit: 'to connect in the indissoluble bonds of patriotic friendship citizens of known attachment to the political rights of human nature, and the liberties of the country.' The Chillicothe Tammany Society—like its kindred associations—was strictly political, and composed exclusively of Republican citizens, to secure, by a more perfect concert of action, their success over the Federalists, who, though in a decided minority in the county, had generally, by a combined movement, carried the elections in whole or in part." [46]

The Chillicothe Wigwam granted dispensations for the erection of societies in other parts of the State. Dr. John Hamm, one of the original members of the Chillicothe society, moved to Zanesville, and shortly thereafter the newspapers record the erection of a wigwam there. Hamm and his father-in-law, General Isaac Van Horne, dominated the politics of Muskingum County for a number of years, seemingly with the aid of St. Tammany. The Republicans of Cincinnati formed a society in January, 1811, which grew rapidly in spite of opposition and survived the storm which later overwhelmed the mother society at Chillicothe. Other wigwams were founded in Hamilton, Xenia, Lancaster, Warren, New Boston, and doubtless in other towns.

The embryonic Tammany machine was put to use almost at once. The election in October, 1810, was to be another round in the struggle between the anticourt Republicans and the Quid-Federalist combination. The conservatives were determined to elect a governor and if possible to obtain control of the General Assembly in order to repeal the "sweeping resolution" and the Commissioning Act based on it. The contest was bitterly fought, for jobs as well as principles were at stake. Worthington was early announced as the candidate of the liberal Republicans, while Meigs was prevailed upon to become a candidate in opposition. Meigs,

[46] MS. Journal of Samuel Williams (5 vols.) in a private library in Cincinnati. Extracts from this Journal are published as "Leaves from an Autobiography," in *Ladies' Repository* (Cincinnati), XI (1851) ff.

who at the time was United States senator, would attract almost precisely the same group of citizens who had voted for Huntington two years before.

As soon as the candidates were definitely known, the newspapers took up the cudgels in behalf of their favorites, and by August, 1810, the charges and countercharges were appearing with typical western intemperance. The *Scioto Gazette* was already recognized as the Tammany organ; its editor, J. S. Collins, was a member of the Chillicothe Wigwam. This paper naturally became the mouthpiece for Worthington. The *Independent Republican,* another Chillicothe paper, supported Meigs. The Meigs papers repeatedly referred to Worthington as the "Idol of Tammany" and made the most of his connection with the society. The people were warned that this secret organization had runners between the principal towns of the State who were furthering the interests of their candidate. So definite was the Tammany and anti-Tammany alignment that in Ross County, at least, even the minor county officers were classified on that basis.

The attack on Meigs, which was led by the *Scioto Gazette,* charged that he was in sympathy with "judicial usurpation," that he was at heart a Federalist, and that he had already had too many public offices. It is possible that the defeat of Meigs in the Meigs-Massie dispute created some sentiment in his favor. In any case, Meigs was elected, carrying a number of the more populous counties including the "New England" settlements by substantial majorities. Worthington won in Ross and a number of the southwestern counties but could not overcome the lead which the populous eastern section had given to his opponent. So it was again demonstrated that when the Republicans were divided the Federalists could choose the governor.

This defeat of Worthington was softened by his election to the United States Senate to fill the remainder of Meigs's term. His chief rival for the honor was Huntington, the retiring governor. Many supported Huntington on the ground that the section of Ohio east of the Scioto should be entitled to a senator, since Alexander

Campbell, Ohio's other senator, resided in Adams County.

The Tammany organization made itself felt in the General Assembly of 1810–11. Former Governor Edward Tiffin, who had resigned from the United States Senate, was elected speaker of the House. He was grand sachem of the wigwam in Chillicothe, and it may well have been his influence that led many members of the legislature to join the organization during the course of the session.[47]

The conservative Republicans, taking confidence from the election of Meigs, felt certain that they would be able to repeal the "sweeping resolution" during the meeting of the legislature. But in this they were thwarted, and the blame was openly laid to the "nefarious cabal" of Tammanyites. The measure for repeal failed of passage in the House by one vote after it had passed the Senate by a narrow margin. After the adjournment of the legislature, a veritable avalanche of criticism appeared in the conservative press. Returning legislators, if they were conservative, doubtless brought lurid tales of the machinations of the Tammany bloc. The *Independent Republican* of Chillicothe, after recounting the story of the defeat of the repealing resolution, stated that Ohioans might well fear the Tammany Society: "It is really an alarming fact that, during the session of the legislature, no less than SEVENTEEN MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES joined this nefarious association in ONE NIGHT." [48]

Massie and Creighton, both of whom had been leading members of the original "Chillicothe Junto," had parted from the Tiffin-Worthington group and were now leading the hue and cry against St. Tammany. They arranged a mass meeting of protest against the order shortly before the annual May celebration of the society. The meeting resolved that it was the duty of citizens to oppose the order and to endeavor to expose its practises. Similar meetings were held in Hamilton and Greene counties.[49] In spite of this

[47] Carlos Norton to Worthington, Zanesville, Feb. 1, 1811, Worthington MSS.
[48] Feb. 21, 1811.
[49] *Ibid.*, May 9, June 13, 1811.

opposition St. Tammany's birthday was duly celebrated, and the grand sachem of Chillicothe, Tiffin, gave a "long talk" which was an elaborate, well written, defense of the order. His oration was printed at length in the *Scioto Gazette* and was scattered widely in pamphlet form. In reward for his pains Tiffin became the special target of the enemies of St. Tammany. Charles Hammond, a Federalist destined to become one of Ohio's ablest publicists and politicians, wrote a series of articles for the *Supporter* over the name "Calpurnius" which attacked Tiffin in the bitterest terms, forcing him finally to make a public reply.

The newspaper warfare continued during the whole summer of 1811. As the October elections approached rival tickets were printed under Tammany and anti-Tammany headings and partisan rancor reached a higher pitch than Ohio had ever known. The test of the election, as everyone understood, would be in the attitude of the newly elected legislature toward the "sweeping resolution." Early efforts made for repealing the offensive measure showed that the legislature was as evenly balanced as it had been in the previous session. The question became increasingly embarrassing as the session wore on, for the districting of the State for congressional elections was up for determination, and it became imperative that the Republicans present a united front against any Federalist attempt at gerrymandering the State. The "sweeping resolution," or rather the Commissioning Act based upon it, was finally repealed on January 8, 1812, with the compromise provision that the repeal should not invalidate appointments made under the Commissioning Act.

Their defeat in the matter of the "sweeping resolution" was a death blow to the Tammany organization. Conservatism had won another victory in Ohio, and "judge-breaking" was severely condemned by implication. It remained for Carlos Norton, who served simultaneously as clerk of the Senate and the Chillicothe Wigwam, to write the obituary of the order in a letter to Worthington: "With respect to the Tammany Society, it 'hath done us much evil.' And, it is certain, that no good will come out of it. The minds of the

people are prejudiced against it—and, for my part, I see no use, in attempting to struggle against a stream that must inevitably bear us down. I know you will say, with me in scriptural language, 'it is folly to kick against the pricks.' " [50]

The Tammany leaders in Ohio had consistently sponsored the cause of President James Madison, although at times their resolutions indicated that the society favored a more vigorous foreign policy. After the adjournment of the legislature in which they suffered defeat there seems to have been a caucus of the organization at which an electoral ticket was arranged, pledged to support Madison. Shortly after war was declared against Great Britain in 1812 the Tammany ticket was printed in the *Muskingum Messenger* of Zanesville and was immediately copied by papers throughout the State. It must have been gall and wormwood to such men as Huntington and Creighton to find that their wing of the Republican Party was to have no voice in the reelection of the President. The editor of the *Fredonian* of Chillicothe fired his heaviest artillery at the Tammanyites, who, according to him, were still seeking to control the politics of the State, by a secret system of committees of correspondence, in spite of their defeat in the recent legislature. The editor, although he probably knew better, asserted that the Tammany electors, despite their assertion of loyalty, had a deep-laid plot to defeat the cause of Madison in Ohio. The excitement reached such a pitch that an anti-Tammany ticket, also pledged to support Madison and Elbridge Gerry, was announced.[51] This would seem to have been consummate political folly, but it demonstrates how great the resentment was against St. Tammany, particularly in the Chillicothe neighborhood.

After this schism in the Republican ranks, the supporters of Governor De Witt Clinton in Ohio took new heart. Clinton seems to have received the general support of the Federalist element and probably his canal policy and advocacy of a protective tariff turned some Republicans in his favor. It is possible that he might have

[50] Letter dated Zanesville, March 11, 1812, Worthington MSS.
[51] *Fredonian*, Sept. 16, 30, 1812.

received a considerable vote if the war had not brought support to Madison. The election resulted in the victory of the so-called Tammany ticket.[52] The votes for the eight victorious electors ranged from 6,372 to 7,420. The Clintonian ticket received votes ranging from 1,215 to 3,301. Only one elector on the anti-Tammany ticket polled over one thousand votes. So, curiously enough, devotees of St. Tammany had the honor of casting Ohio's electoral vote for Madison, although the doom of their order had already been sealed, so far as future influence within the State was concerned.

The Tammany order continued to have local importance in Ohio for a number of years. In Zanesville and Hamilton the wigwams were particularly active, judging from the local newspapers, but generally speaking the organization does not seem to have had State-wide influence after 1812. Aspirants for political honors had doubtless learned that secret organizations make unsafe ladders by which to attempt to climb, and agreed with Norton that in the face of popular resentment it was no use "to kick against the pricks." The problem of winning the war allayed partisan rancor, the two factions of the Republicans effectively patched up their quarrel, and the legislature seems to have carried on with "harmony prevailing."

[52] *Supporter,* Nov. 14, 1812.

CHAPTER III

Ohio and the Nation

FOR FULLY fifteen years after her admission into the Union, no state surpassed Ohio in protestations of loyalty to the Administration and to the Nation. Fault was found with the conduct of the War of 1812, to be sure, but it was not until the Panic of 1819, accompanied as it was by violent feeling against the Bank of the United States, that Ohio expressed vehement disapproval of national policies. It is not paradoxical that the first state to be admitted from the wilderness of the Northwest should have been so strongly nationalistic in sentiment, for her quasi-colonial status was not abruptly ended by the coming of statehood. The defense against the Indians and the extinction of Indian land claims, the building of roads from the eastward, and other developments necessary for commercial expansion, were interests which could best be served by national agencies. When one adds to these factors the debtor-creditor relationship existing between thousands of Ohio farmers and the National Government, one may well conclude that loyalty toward administrations which promised aid in solving these problems was simply the expression of the best interests of the section.

From 1803 to 1813 Ohio was represented at Washington by two senators and one congressman. Though these delegates were generally men of substantial talents it can hardly be said that any one of them made a lasting impression on the trend of national affairs. They came, most frequently, as supplicants for favors, particularly on behalf of public land debtors. If one seeks for their contribution as lawmakers, one must look into the details of the land laws. In this field one may observe most clearly the parental relationship between Congress and the first offspring of the public domain.

The Harrison Act of 1800 had provided that lands should first be offered to the highest bidders for a period of three weeks after land sales were opened. Thereafter lands were to be offered in tracts as small as a half-section at a minimum price of two dollars an acre. The act provided for extension of credit to the purchaser, who was required to pay one-quarter of the purchase price within forty days and the remainder in equal installments at the end of the second, third, and fourth years. The only important modification of this arrangement was the provision of the Act of March 26, 1804, passed at the suggestion of Senator Thomas Worthington, which reduced the minimum tract from 320 to 160 acres. Eighty dollars in cash thus became sufficient capital to enable one to contract for a farm large enough for the average frontiersman. But the frontier farmer faced a tremendous task in making a living from the farm and at the same time accumulating the $240 or more which he had contracted to pay within four years. Many writers have commented on the political results which followed the debtor-creditor relationship which was set up by this policy. It remained a constant source of irritation and political pressure until the passage of the Act of 1820, which placed all land sales on a cash basis. Ohio's delegates at Washington consumed a great deal of energy on behalf of their debtor constituents, sponsoring many measures for temporary relief. The first important act of this type, passed in 1809, granted two years extension of credit. Edward Tiffin, at that time United States senator, sponsored the measure in the Senate, while Jeremiah Morrow spoke for it in the House.[1] The points most frequently agitated by Ohioans desiring reform in land legislation were for the extension of credit and the reduction of interest charges on balances due the Government. The Harrison bill had provided for six per cent. interest on unpaid balances as well as for an eight per cent. discount for prepayment. Many debtors felt that it was unreasonable that interest should be charged on the installments before they became due.[2]

[1] Tiffin to Thomas Worthington, Washington, Feb. 12, 1809, Worthington MSS.
[2] Samuel Carpenter to *id.*, Chillicothe, Feb. 16, 1804, *ibid.*

The first-hand acquaintance which Ohio congressmen had with questions bearing on western problems was recognized by their fellow legislators. They were almost invariably included, frequently as chairmen, on committees which considered such matters as the relief of public land debtors, the survey of Government lands, preemption rights, the erection of new territories, and the extinction of Indian claims. In every session in which Morrow was a member of the House he served with the standing Committee on Public Lands. He has been praised as "one of the sanest men who ever handled land legislation." [3] Year in and year out he contended for a simple policy: sell for cash, in small units, at a lower price than two dollars an acre. His long campaign was crowned with success when his policies were incorporated in the Land Act of 1820. The advice of Tiffin and Worthington was also frequently sought in matters of land laws; the statesmanship of the former was recognized in 1812 by his appointment as the first commissioner of the General Land Office.

The attitude of the rising generation of western politicians toward those in control at Washington was subservient, though not peculiarly so. These first Ohio statesmen had no well-established connections with eastern leaders although they formed attachments quickly enough. Worthington was on most cordial terms with Nathaniel Macon and Albert Gallatin and both he and Tiffin seem to have enjoyed the confidence of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. These Ohio congressmen looked forward to the time when the growth in population would entitle their State to a larger representation in Congress. As early as 1804 Tiffin, after commenting in a letter to Worthington about the immense immigration of that year, concluded with the remark that "Ohio will soon be felt in the nations councils." [4] New territories were being formed to the west of Ohio and she would soon cease to be the youngest of the states. These new territories would require officials, and there is little doubt that some Ohioans regarded a

[3] P. J. Treat, *National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, 1910).
[4] Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 24, 1804, Worthington MSS.

position in Congress as a stepping stone to such appointments. George Tod, for example, wrote to Return J. Meigs, Jr., inquiring if it would be advisable for him to run for Congress. Meigs replied in a practical vein, "My wishes are that you was in Congress, it would lead to a Territorial Judgeship $1200 per Annum." [5] Stanley Griswold, who was appointed to fill an unexpired term in the United States Senate during a recess of the General Assembly, was given a Federal judgeship in the newly organized Michigan Territory.

Ohioans both in and out of Congress followed the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana most attentively. They were impatient over the delay in the ratification of the contract with Napoleon. During the debate in Congress, Worthington received a letter from a friend in Chillicothe: "The Western people wait with great anxiety to know the result. We hope it will be favorable, if otherwise I do not know what the consequences may be you know the temper of the Kentuckians as well as of our own people." [6] The cause of the Jeffersonians in Ohio was greatly strengthened by the Louisiana Purchase; even the Federalists who were unremitting in their attacks on the administration could find no fault with it.[7] The treaty was promulgated on October 21, 1803, and when the news reached Ohio in the first days of November it was greeted in every village with bonfires, torch-light parades, and appropriate drinking. In Lancaster the celebration was most dazzling: "In the evening the town was illuminated and a numerous procession was formed, with drum and fife at their head, who marched through the principal streets of the towns with candles, together with a lanthern four feet high and eighteen inches wide, carried on a ten foot pole, with the following inscription, JEFFERSON, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE, on one side—the acquisition of Louisiana, on the second—Livingston and Monroe, on the third —and republicans in congress on the fourth, together with seven-

[5] Letter, Tod MSS. (in Western Reserve Historical Society Library).
[6] William Creighton, Jr., to Worthington, Chillicothe, Oct. 17, 1803, Worthington MSS.
[7] Samuel Huntington to *id.*, Chillicothe, Oct. 3, 1803, *ibid.*

teen stars, which made a brilliant appearance never before witnessed in this place." [8]

Great interest was expressed by Ohioans in the organization of the new territory. It may be recalled that some sections of the Union opposed the admission of new states from the purchase. Worthington commented on this question in his diary under the date October 19, 1803: "Doubt entertained by some that the treaty does not oblige an incorporation of the Louisiana into the Union. On this subject I am clear and have no doubt and even if I had doubted I never could agree to have colonies attached to the U.S. inhibited from the common rights of citizens." [9] When Tiffin read a summary of Breckenridge's bill for the government of Louisiana in the *National Intelligencer* he wrote a lengthy criticism to Worthington dwelling on the undue powers which had been granted to the territorial governor.[10] Nor was the interest of Ohioans confined to a criticism of the territorial government. Her senators at Washington were bombarded with letters from acquaintances recommending either themselves or friends for positions in the new territory. Some intimated that they would be content with any "reputable office of tolerable profit." Tiffin wrote to Worthington in behalf of Meigs, "I hope you will not forget Colo. Meigs as he is an excellent man & relies much on your friendship as it respects the New Territory." [11] Meigs was successful in obtaining a judgeship in Upper Louisiana, whereupon Samuel Huntington was appointed chief justice of the State Supreme Court in his place. Duncan McArthur, the insatiable land speculator, wrote to Worthington asking how lands could be "come at" in the new purchase.

For a few weeks after the approval of the treaty with France the opposition of Spain to the cession made it appear probable that a military expedition would be necessary to obtain possession

[8] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette,* May 21, 1804.
[9] Thomas Worthington, Diary, MS. (in Library of Congress).
[10] Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Jan. 19, 1804, Worthington MSS.
[11] *Id.* to *id.,* Chillicothe, Nov. 12, 1803, *ibid.*

of New Orleans. The secretary of war, General Henry Dearborn, requested that a provisional regiment be raised from the Ohio militia.[12] Immediate action seemed necessary and Tiffin and his advisors were in a quandary, since no law existed permitting a draft and the governor hesitated to call an extra session of the legislature. It was decided that a call should be made for volunteers to meet the emergency. Meigs was appointed colonel and other commissions were to depend on one's skill in recruiting, thirty recruits entitling one to the rank of a captain. The fact that Kentucky was offering a bounty of one hundred fifty acres of land to each volunteer who saw service in Louisiana placed Ohio at a disadvantage, since she had no land to give away.[13] Some Federalists roundly condemned the President for having authorized the call for militia, since he had no right to require service of such troops beyond the boundaries of their own states. McArthur, who was an intensely practical man, wrote to Worthington, "I have ever contended with my neighbors, that our fighting for the country, would be a breach of the Treaty on the part of France; and would exonerate us from payment or at least that the expense of the army would be deducted."[14] The expedition, fortunately, was not needed and James Findlay of Cincinnati could write to Worthington in a happy mood: "I expect before this time we have peaceable possession of New Orleans, now one thing more, and we may be as wealthy as we are free, that is making the falls of the Ohio navigable at low water."[15] Findlay hoped that Congress might be interested in this project, but his hopes were in vain and a quarter of a century was to elapse before the falls at Louisville ceased to be a hazard to the New Orleans traffic.

Strained relations with Spain persisted for many years after the breach caused by the purchase of Louisiana. The presence of

[12] The communication was published in *Scioto Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1803.

[13] Creighton to Worthington, Chillicothe, Nov. 23, 1803, Worthington MSS.; Tiffin to *id.*, Chillicothe, Dec. 17, 1803, *ibid.*

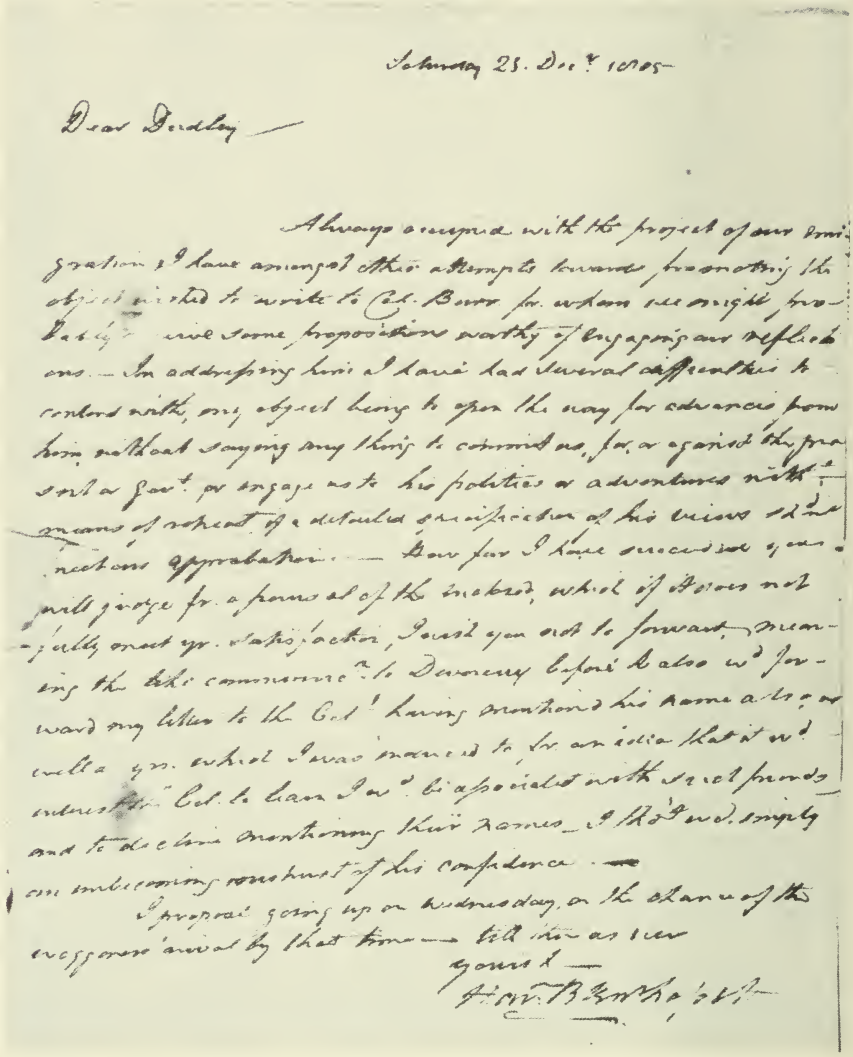
[14] Duncan McArthur to *id.*, Chillicothe, Jan. 2, 1804, *ibid.*

[15] Letter of Jan. 9, 1804, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Quarterly Publication* (Cincinnati), IV (1909), 105ff.

the "Dons" in the Mexican borderlands furnished the background for many an abortive plot, including the Burr Conspiracy, that most intricate of historical puzzles. The reader who is so inclined may turn to any number of accounts of this famous episode and still be unsatisfied as to certain details, particularly as to the motives which lay behind Jefferson's sudden change from indifference to vindictiveness in his attitude towards the leaders of the plot.[16] The whole affair might deserve treatment in a half humorous vein, to reflect properly the contemporary attitude, were it not for the fact that during the hysteria, which for weeks held the citizens of Ohio in its grip, reputations of many prominent men were enhanced or ruined with equal celerity. Whether the danger from the conspiracy was real or imagined, the official and unofficial protestations of loyalty on the part of Ohioans were unsurpassed in eloquence and apparent sincerity.

The visit of Aaron Burr to the West, following his retirement from the Vice-Presidency in 1805, attracted no more attention than his position or notoriety warranted, nor was his second trip, undertaken in August, 1806, an object of unusual curiosity at the outset. The articles signed "Querist," contributed by Harman Blennerhassett to a Marietta paper in the fall of that year, which discussed the possibility of a separation of the West from the Union, gave some point to vague rumors which were being circulated. The arguments of "Querist" were answered by contributors to newspapers in both Cincinnati and Chillicothe, notably in articles written by Thomas Hinde over the signature "Fredonian," which appeared in the *Scioto Gazette*. Hinde claimed later that he was the first writer to expose Burr's nefarious designs.[17] John Smith of Cincinnati, one of Ohio's first United States senators and a friend of Burr's, wrote to the colonel, who was at Lexington, asking that his plans should be candidly disclosed, in view of the highly colored rumors which were being circulated. Burr's reply was

[16] S. H. Wanell and Meade Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr* (New York, 1927); E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio* . . . (New York, 1912). The chapters on the operations of Burr in Ohio in the latter (III, 193-257) is an excellent treatment.
[17] Hinde MSS. (in Wisconsin State Historical Society Library), V, 183ff.



Saturday 25. Dec.r 1805

Dear Dudley

Always acquainted with the project of our emigration I have amongst other attempts towards procuring the object wished to write to Col. Burr for whom we might procure some proposition worthy of engaging our reflections. In addressing him I have had several difficulties to contend with, my object being to open the way for advances from him without saying any thing to commit us, for, or against the project or govt. or engage us to his politics or adventures with[t]. means of retreat of a detailed specification of his views &[c] meets approbation. — Now for I have succeeded to your full charge for a perusal of the inclosed, which if it does not fully meet yr. wishes, I could you will to forward, meaning the like communication to Devaney before it also will forward my letter to the Col[l] having mentioned his name also, or omitted yrs. which I was induced to, for an idea that it will interest the Col. to learn I am associated with several friends and to disclaim mentioning their names — I shall send simply an embracing contract of his confidence —

I propose going up on Wednesday, or the character of the weather and by that time — till then as ever

yours[t] —

H. M. Blennerhassett

7. BLENNERHASSETT TO WOODBRIDGE, Dec. 25, 1805.

". . . my object being to open the way for advances from him without saying any thing to commit us, for, or against the project or govt. or engage us to his politics or adventures with[t]. means of retreat. . . ." Courtesy of Woodbridge-Gallaher Collection, Ohio State Museum.

quite convincing, "If there exists any design to separate the western from the eastern states, I am totally ignorant of it. I never harbored or expressed any such intention to any one, nor did any person ever intimate such design to me. . . ." The charge, in Burr's opinion, was too absurd to deserve contradiction; he might as reasonably have been charged with a plot "to change the planetary system." [18] Historians have not cleared Burr of designs against the unity of the Nation, particularly in the earlier stages of his conspiracy, but his denial in the fall of 1806 may have conformed with his actual plans at the time, although one is puzzled by the Blennerhassett articles. In any case, Burr seems to have allayed the fears not only of Smith but also those of the court at Frankfort which was summoned at Burr's insistence. Smith's defense of Burr at this juncture produced bitter fruit in due season.

Sometime in November Jefferson became convinced that it was necessary to thwart Burr's plans. He may have been alarmed by letters from the consummate scoundrel, General James Wilkinson, or possibly the trend of American diplomacy made a filibustering expedition against the Spanish southwest undesirable, however attractive it may have seemed a year before. The President sent John Graham, an employee of the State Department, on a tour of the West as a confidential agent, with instructions, one may assume, to obtain evidence against Burr and to spread the alarm in official circles. Graham had an interview with Blennerhassett at Marietta in which the Irishman openly revealed the plans of the expedition, but failed to convince the Government agent of the innocence of Burr's motives. From Marietta Graham journeyed to Chillicothe from which town he wrote to Secretary of State James Madison, "At this place they seem to know nothing of the plans of Colonel Burr, and I am rather induced to think that he has no one at work for him here; if he has, they have made very little progress, for all is quiet." Tiffin assured Graham that there was no fear of an uprising in Ohio, that the boats being

[18] Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio,* III, 219.

built for Burr at Marietta were obviously only for ordinary river travel, and that in his estimation there was no need for State action.[19] The governor's point of view was radically changed when Jefferson's envoy revealed the nature of his secret information. The course of action pursued by Tiffin betrays his genuine alarm, and the tenor of his correspondence with Worthington during the next few weeks shows that he was convinced that the activities of Burr were treasonous.

Once convinced, Tiffin commenced decisive action. His interview with Graham took place on Friday before the meeting of the General Assembly on Monday, December first. On Tuesday, at a secret session, the governor read a special message in which he presented the plot as outlined to him by Graham. Burr's plan was alleged to include the seizure of New Orleans, together with Government military stores, and money in the banks of that city totalling two million dollars, and indicated that he further planned to erect a government independent of the United States under the protection of a foreign European power. "Under this state of things, it is submitted whether the public energies of Ohio ought not to be directed towards counteracting that part of the preparing forces within our jurisdiction, on the Muskingum River, and then securing the agent preparing them, if possible." Within two days the General Assembly responded with "An act to prevent certain acts hostile to the peace and tranquillity of the United States within the jurisdiction of this State."[20] Tiffin afterwards wrote to Worthington that action had been delayed for a full day because Nathaniel Massie, while "in liquor," objected so violently to the secret sessions, as being unconstitutional, that the House adjourned in disorder. This delay, according to the governor, may well have permitted the escape of Blennerhassett and his accomplice Comfort Tyler.[21] Under the authority of the special statute Tiffin dispatched the proper orders to Marietta for the

[19] *Ibid.*, 224f.
[20] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Statutes of Ohio* (ed. by S. P. Chase), I, 553.
[21] Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 18, 1806, Worthington MSS.

seizure of the flatboats belonging to the conspirators and also warned the officers of the State militia at Cincinnati to be on the alert. On December fifteenth he reported, with evident pride, that the officers at Marietta had seized the boats and supplies of Blennerhassett and Tyler, although the culprits themselves had unfortunately escaped arrest.[22] The activities of the militia at Cincinnati received his praise, but students of the affair are tempted to smile at the exaggerated fears of the citizens of that city.

The governor and the assemblymen were well pleased with their work. In the midst of the crisis Lewis Cass, a young legislator from the Zanesville neighborhood, introduced resolutions which in eloquent phrases confirmed Ohio's intense loyalty to the Nation. William Creighton, Jr., Secretary of State of Ohio, wrote to Worthington while the excitement was still at its height: "The situation of the Western Country must excite great solicitude and alarm with our Eastern brethren and the Government. Never have I witnessed the public sentiment so feeling alive as on this occasion. an occasion deprecated by every man who wished well to his country, has given the State of Ohio a full and fair opportunity of manifesting her patriotism and attachment to the general government. Great Unanimity prevails in the Legislature, parties are lost in the consideration of our common safety. . . ." [23]

Senator Worthington was bombarded with similar letters, for the prosecution of Burr had plainly become a matter of importance with the Administration, and the President's adherents in the West were eager to give evidence of their orthodoxy. Senator John Smith was conspicuously absent when Congress convened, for when word was received of Jefferson's proclamation against Burr, Smith first aided in the arming of the militia at Cincinnati and then boarded a boat bound for New Orleans in order to take care of certain army contracts, as he later explained.[24] He arrived in Washington in January, 1807, after a hue and cry had been raised against

[22] Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio,* III, 239.
[23] Creighton to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 18, 1806, Worthington MSS.
[24] M. A. Pitcher, "John Smith, First Senator from Ohio and His Connection with Aaron Burr," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XLV (1936), 68-89.

him in the West. Tiffin wrote to Worthington early in December that although suspicion was lowering upon Smith, he was not inclined to believe the rumors until he was compelled to do so and advised Worthington to take a similar attitude. The departure of Smith for New Orleans, coupled with his known friendship for Burr, and the fact that one or more of his sons were enlisted in Burr's expedition, seemed adequate ground for suspicion in the minds of the majority of the General Assembly. Resolutions were accordingly passed stating that "in the present interesting crisis, it is necessary that every public officer should be at his post, and all public functionaries should possess the confidence of their constituents." Since Smith had "not attended to the duties of that important office," the General Assembly requested his resignation.[25]

Smith was not without enemies in Cincinnati and public charges were soon made against him in the newspapers of that city. These were answered by his defenders, and a lively controversy ensued in which there was actual threat of gun play.[26] On arriving in the capital, Smith appealed to Jefferson for protection against his detractors, but the President did not see fit to intervene. Smith was indicted along with numerous alleged accomplices of Burr, but the indictment was quashed following the acquittal of the principal defendant. His position in the Senate was not secure, however, for when he took his seat in the extra session of the Tenth Congress, which convened in October, 1807, he was viewed with suspicion and resolutions were passed questioning whether he should be allowed to retain his seat.[27] Since each house of Congress has the constitutional right to judge the qualifications of its own members, the fact that Smith had been cleared of the indictment against him could not be argued in his behalf. A series of hearings, continuing for several weeks, examined the evidence against Smith most searchingly, but in the end the resolution for expulsion failed by one vote of receiving the requisite two-thirds. John Quincy

[25] Ohio General Assembly, House, *Journal,* 5 Assemb., 1806-07, 59.
[26] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Mercury,* Feb. 3, 1807.
[27] The course of the trial may be followed in *Annals of Congress,* 10 Cong., 1 Sess., 40, 56, 61, 81, 90, 187, 195, 208, 266, 324.

Adams was chairman of the committee which prosecuted Smith, while Francis Scott Key was the most prominent of the counsel for the defense. The vigor with which the prosecution was conducted leads one to assume that the Administration, having failed in its case against Burr, was eager to substantiate the charges against Smith. A careful student of the career of John Smith concludes with the statement that his guilt "was in the minds of the few and not proven to the many." Smith's political career was plainly ruined, despite his acquittal, and he submitted his resignation to Acting Governor Thomas Kirker. He sacrificed his extensive holdings in Cincinnati property and moved to Louisiana, a thoroughly embittered man. Meigs was elected to fill his place in the Senate.

Having followed the tragic career of John Smith, the outstanding victim of the Burr hysteria in Ohio, one may turn to the story of those who benefited from this same crisis. Edward Tiffin, who was willing to trust Jefferson's word against his own judgment, deserved to be rewarded handsomely. He had shown no hesitation in the emergency, and for this he was warmly praised by the President himself:

"That our fellow citizens of the West would need only to be informed of criminal machinations against the public safety, to crush them at once, I never entertained a doubt.

"I have seen with the greatest satisfaction that among those who have distinguished themselves by their fidelity to their country on the occasion of the enterprise of Mr. Burr, yourself and the Legislature of Ohio have been the most eminent.

"The promptitude and energy displayed by your State has been as honorable to itself as salutary to its sister States, and in declaring that you have deserved well of your country I do but express the grateful sentiment of every faithful citizen in it." [28]

The term of Thomas Worthington as United States senator was to expire March 4, 1807, and since he was apparently not a candidate to succeed himself, Tiffin allowed his friends to present his

[28] W. E. Gilmore, *Life of Edward Tiffin* (Chillicothe, O., 1897), 101ff.

name as a candidate, in spite of the fact that his term as governor would not expire until the end of 1807.[29] He was opposed by Philemon Beecher, an avowed Federalist of Lancaster, who received twelve votes to Tiffin's twenty-five.[30]

Lewis Cass, although barely twenty-four in 1806, had already shown much ability as a legislator. His activity in drafting the statute against the conspiracy as well as framing the resolutions expressing Ohio's attachment to the Union, caused much favorable comment. Through the influence of Tiffin and Worthington he was appointed Federal marshal for the Ohio District in the place of Michael Baldwin, who had displayed such indifference, or inefficiency, during the crisis that he was even suspected of being an accomplice of Burr. The better explanation of Baldwin's conduct is that he was rapidly becoming a sodden drunkard. His intemperance caused his death a few years later, bringing an end to a career which in 1803 seemed to have great promise. One might moralize over the rise of one brilliant young man at the expense of another.

One reason for the interest displayed by Ohioans in the Burr Conspiracy was that the freedom of the mouth of the Mississippi seemed to be threatened. It is small wonder that westerners should have been greatly concerned with the trend of American foreign relations when one recalls how frequently this principal artery of western commerce had been a pawn in the game of diplomacy. No assumption could be more false than that Ohioans were uninterested in the European drama in which Napoleon was starring. Their newspapers gave over the first page to the most recent news from Europe, printing at length even the bulletins of Bonaparte to his armies. The editors preserved a semblance of neutrality as between Great Britain and France until the *Chesapeake-Leopard* crisis of 1807. The attack of the British frigate on the defenseless *Chesapeake* was deeply resented in Ohio, and from that time for-

[29] Tiffin to Worthington, Chillicothe, Jan. 3, 1807, Worthington MSS.

[30] *Id.* to *id.*, Chillicothe, Dec. 8, 1806, *ibid.;* McArthur to *id.*, Chillicothe, Dec. 21, 1806, *ibid.;* Lewis Cass to *id.*, Chillicothe, Jan. 18, 1807, *ibid.;* Cincinnati *Western Spy and Miami Gazette,* Mar. 30, 1807.

ward many leaders looked upon war with Great Britain as inevitable. The tone of public sentiment is revealed in resolutions passed at mass meetings held in Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and other centers.[31] Edward Tiffin presided over the meeting at the State capital, and William Creighton, Secretary of State, had a hand in drafting the resolutions. The Ohio patriots, still under the influence of the Burr excitement, asserted that in their opinion the evidence pointed clearly to connivance between the "Cabinet of St. James" and the conspirators. As to the outrage committed on the *Chesapeake,* they charged that it was tantamount to a declaration of war. The meeting urged that the governor and the militia officers should "exert themselves to have the militia properly disciplined and to excite in them a zeal for the defense of their rights and liberties." They concluded by resolving unanimously that "we will to the utmost of our ability support our government in carrying into effect every measure which she may adopt for repelling the attempts of the British Government and chastising the insolence of any of its detestable agents in their attempts to weaken our government to insult our Ensigns or to injure our citizens." [32]

The policy of economic pressure which Jefferson and Madison pursued in their effort to compel respect of American maritime rights met with general but not unanimous approval in Ohio. The embargo was opposed by many of the relatively powerful merchant group. One political observer, writing in 1808, reported to Worthington that "such is the clamor raised by the merchants against the embargo that many are misled. The merchant knowing that his existence as such depends on preventing the introduction and encouragement of manufactories in this country will hesitate at nothing." [33] The Non-intercourse Act also met with some criticism. The *Supporter* (Chillicothe), which was frankly opposed to Jefferson's policies, ridiculed the alleged impartiality of the

[31] *Ibid.,* Aug. 10, 1807; *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 3, 1807.
[32] Kenton MSS. (in Wisconsin State Historical Society Library), VII, no. 36.
[33] Wyllys Silliman to Worthington, Zanesville, July 29, 1808, Worthington MSS.

act, by pointing out that in effect it favored Napoleon's continental system.[34]

The fear of Indian disorders was always present in the minds of Ohioans living along the frontiers of the northwestern section, and Britain's policy towards the red man was constantly suspected. Accounts of Indian outrages, either authentic or rumored, made good newspaper copy, but the careful reader gets the impression that the dangers were more often imagined than real. The Treaty of Greenville, signed in 1795, had extinguished the Indian claim to all except the northwest corner, approximately one-third of the State's area. By a series of treaties the Indians gave up ownership in this remaining section. By the Treaty of Fort Industry (Toledo), signed July 4, 1805, the Indians gave up their title to the section of the Western Reserve west of Cleveland, which included the Firelands, and also to a large area directly south of this tract, of which Mansfield was the principal settlement. Treaties at Detroit (1807), Brownstown, Michigan (1808), the Maumee Rapids (1817), and finally at St. Mary's (1818), completely deprived the Indians of their original titles to Ohio lands. Several reservations were set aside for their use, and it was not until 1842 that the last of these, at Upper Sandusky, was given over to the white man.[35]

The belief that British agents were inciting Indian outrages was current throughout the West, doubtless with some justification, although the Indian trade which centered in the Canadian towns near Detroit was viewed with greater suspicion than its nature warranted. It was generally feared that such incidents as the attack of the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake* would lead the Indians to assume that with British protection the Americans might be harassed with impunity. This was the import of a letter received by Kirker from a citizen of Greene County: "Tho the British should not carry this affair into a Declaration of War yet what they have done will certainly come to the Indians Ears and incourage

[34] Mar. 9, 1809.

[35] S. S. Knabenshue, "Indian Land Sessions in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XI (1903), 249-55.

them to let loose their natural propensity to Blood & Rapine, this is making the least of it, but I think (from the various Vague Reports from the Indians) that the Agents of the British are incouraging them in their mischief." [36] Speculators who were holding Ohio lands in the frontier counties feared the effect of the war talk on their fortunes. McArthur, for example, wrote in November, 1807, "The rumers of a war with Britain, the frequent Indian alearms, joined with the bad crops of corn &c are all extremely discouraging to emigration, and heard on those who have already purchased." [37]

There was much comment in the fall of 1811 on the unsettled state of the Indian frontier to the west of Ohio, and British intrigue was commonly held to be responsible.[38] When word was received of the Battle of Tippecanoe it was given prominence in all Ohio papers. *Liberty Hall* of Cincinnati, for example, issued an extra with the heading, "The blow is Struck." [39] When the news reached Worthington at Washington on November 27, he wrote in his diary: "learned yesterday the account of the Battle between Gov. Harrison and the indians with much regret as I am convinced this might have been prevented & all matters settled without the loss of blood." Worthington's judgment on Indian affairs should be given weight, for he had shown skill in negotiating with them. In this instance his views were probably not shared by the majority of Ohioans.

A few days before the battle at Tecumseh's village, Henry Clay was elected speaker of the House, and under his leadership the road was paved to war. His rise to prominence was a matter of rejoicing in Ohio. "The supposed 'wilds of America' will no longer be looked upon with indifference," wrote one of Worthington's friends.[40] The message of Madison to Congress gave the impres-

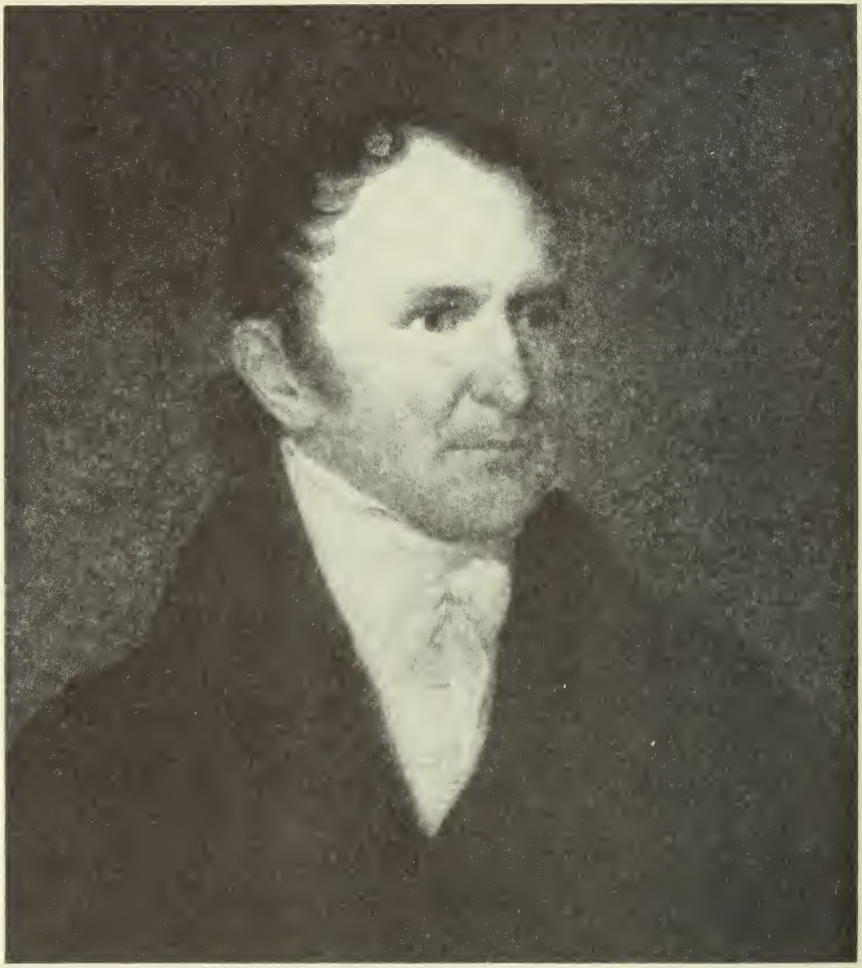
[36] Benjamin Whiteman to Thomas Kirker, Greene County, Aug. 16, 1807, Kenton MSS., VII, no. 41.

[37] McArthur to Robert Means, Chillicothe, Nov. 27, 1807, McArthur MSS. (in Library of Congress) II, no. 207.

[38] For example, see *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 25, 1811.

[39] Nov. 21, 1811.

[40] J. N. Couch to Worthington, Chillicothe, Nov. 18, 1811, Worthington MSS.



8. THOMAS WORTHINGTON, GOVERNOR (1773–1827)
From painting by Charles W. Peale, Ohio State-house, Columbus.

sion that war was inevitable and that the Nation should prepare for it and choose its own time for the declaration. This message and the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations met with the hearty approval of the Ohio General Assembly. Republicans who hitherto had been lukewarm, took a leading part in framing

resolutions expressing confidence in the Administration. Isaac Van Horne, adjutant-general of the Ohio militia, wrote to Worthington, "The Crisis seems to have arrived when temporizing is out of the question, our governt & G. Britain are now fairly at Issue—her demands are now so clearly understood, that Federalists, must shrink with horror from abetting them—she is too proud and haughty to yield if so, there is, I had almost said, but one course left, WAR You possibly may brace up the non-portation [*sic*] system." [41]

The readiness with which Ohioans took up the war-cry is explained in part by the confidence which many leading citizens felt that the conquest of all, or part, of Canada would result from a conflict with Britain. The desire for this conquest arose from mixed motives. It is obvious that if war were declared against Britain, for the causes alleged by the Administration, or for any other reason, the scene of the conflict must be the Canadian border. There is no considerable contemporary evidence that Ohioans or other westerners were eager to conquer Canada for the sake of adding new lands for settlement. Of land there was already a superabundance, and the doctrine of "manifest destiny," if born, was certainly in its infancy. The quieting of the Indian frontier through the elimination of British influence, on the other hand, was important enough to explain the eagerness of many Ohioans to start the march on Quebec. A letter of unusual interest, written to Worthington by James Caldwell of Zanesville on December 14, 1811, reveals what may have been the viewpoint of that mythical person, "the average Ohioan."

"In the event of a war with England, I think with you that the Indians would be troublesome, considering the defenseless situation of our frontiers, but I trust with the assistance of arms from the Gen[l]. Government and the aid of volunteers from Kentucky we shall have nothing to fear—and in the event of an army of the United States being sent to affect the conquest of Cannady we wont

[41] Isaac Van Horne to *id.*, Zanesville, Dec. 12, 1811, *ibid.*

have no invation to apprehend from the British on that quarter. indeed from every view I can take of the subject I have been unable to discover on what quarter the British could do the U.S. any material injury and we would attack & conquer Cannady and humble their overbearing pride." [42]

The war spirit grew with the approach of spring. The publication in March of the Henry papers, which seemed to implicate leading Federalists in a pro-British plot, added to the excitement. McArthur wrote to Worthington that the disclosure of this correspondence tended to consolidate public opinion in Ohio. "Our federalists here say that they will change politicks if the above mentioned correspondence should prove true." [43] In May a citizen of Marietta could write, "In Ohio, the public mind (not being cankered with mercantile cupidity) is prepared for war." [44]

Ohio's three representatives in Congress cast but one vote in favor of war. Jeremiah Morrow, in the House, approved the measure, Senator Alexander Campbell was absent from Washington, and Worthington was among the thirteen senators who opposed the declaration. It is probable that Campbell would have voted for war had he been present, although he wrote to Worthington before he had the news of the declaration that he hoped such a step would not be taken prematurely.[45] The motives of Worthington in voting against the declaration, contrary to the wishes of many of his constituents and of his party, were recorded in his diary. He expressed doubt as to the wisdom or the necessity of war when the question was being debated in December: ". . . both branches of the Legislature [are] discussing the proposition to raise a large army preparatory to war with England No reflection of my life has given me so much concern [.] blessed with peace liberty and plenty beyond the control of any earthly power yet insensible to the blessings we enjoy and do not consider the things which belong to our peace."

[42] *Ibid.*
[43] McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, Mar. 23, 1812, *ibid.*
[44] Levi Barber to *id.*, Marietta, May 17, 1812, *ibid.*
[45] Alexander Campbell to *id.*, Maysville, Ky., June 17, 1812, *ibid.*

He was aware that many of his constituents were eager for war, but he did not yield to whatever may have been the pressure from the West, but rather warned his friends of the costliness of a war and described the general unpreparedness of the country.[46] In May he recorded his view of the development of the war spirit:

"I have hitherto made no memo of the public proceedings [.] I have been and every day confirms me in the opinion convinced [*sic*] that the govt are pursuing an improper course as to the powers of europe. It will be folly & madness to get into the war for abstract principles when we have not the power to enforce them To withdraw would be wisdom but I fear she has fled our councils.

"June 14 [three days before the declaration of war].

"Conversed near an hour and a half with the president on indian affairs and the subject of war. My objections candidly stated to him to wit that we are unprepared that 3 months must elapse before any invasion can take place that in the meantime the administration will be exposed to the attacks of its enemies the people will be disheartened. . . . That although I may differ with my friends on this question or with him I will be the last to agree to a disgraceful peace. will rise or sink with my political associates. That I believe the war is unavoidable but as we have it completely in our power to choose our own time to make it I cannot take the responsibility on me of entering into it unprepared."

On June 17, the day of the declaration of war, Worthington expressed his misgivings in a letter to his wife: "The measure alluded to in my last has been decided. I have done my duty and satisfied my conscience. Thousands of the innocent will suffer, but I have borne my testimony against it, and I thank God, my mind is tranquil. What comfort there is in having done ones duty conscientiously! I have acted for the best. Now that the step is taken I am bound to submit to the will of the majority and use my best exertions to save my country from ruin."

Toward the middle of July, Worthington arrived at his home

[46] Worthington to McArthur, Washington, Feb. 20, 1812, *ibid.*



9. ADENA, RESIDENCE OF THOMAS WORTHINGTON, CHILLICOTHE
Courtesy of Ohio State Museum.

near Chillicothe and went to work in his hayfield and set his mills to grinding flour for the army. He found his neighbors divided on the question of the war. "Those advocating it make much noise, those opposed more quiet." His reception had not been cordial; some of his enemies in Chillicothe had even sought to organize a demonstration against him. He was soon busily engaged in the interest of the State, attending conferences with friendly Indians, advising with Meigs, then governor, on matters of military policy, and in general lending his aid in preparing for the rigors of war. Thomas Worthington, who had risked his political future by voting against the declaration of war, was destined in 1814 to be elected governor of Ohio. Time had so soon erased the disfavor under which the senator was suffering in June, 1812. The prognosticators, in the early part of that year, were busy enough, however.

On New-year's Day, 1812, the editor of *Liberty Hall* (Cincin-

nati) appropriately devoted a column of his paper to prophecy:

"A new year commences. The busy note of preparation is already heard, and probably many months will not elapse before *war's harsh clangor and the din of arms* will resound upon our frontiers. The future historian may record the events of this year, as forming an important epoch in American history.

"Our government, it seems, has determined that the British Orders in Council, and their *Paper Blockades* shall be rescinded, and the impressment of American seamen totally renounced, or to go to war and take possession of the Canadas next summer."

The "busy note of preparation" which the editor heard was in part due to the activity of Meigs, who for two months and more before the declaration of war, was rushing about the State, conferring with militia leaders and preparing quite openly for an expedition in the direction of Detroit.[47] By the second week in May, militia from the various counties were converging on Dayton, where they were to meet Governor William Hull of Michigan Territory, newly made a brigadier-general.[48] In Cincinnati the troops attended church before their leave-taking. The Reverend W. Burke preached from the text Joel III, 9-10: "Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your plowshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears: let the weak say, I am strong." Another minister of the city quoted Jeremiah, "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back the sword from blood." In Chillicothe Francis Asbury, the well-beloved Methodist bishop, had a different point of view, for he preached from Luke III, 14: "And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages." [49]

[47] *Liberty Hall,* Apr. 22, 1812.
[48] *Ibid.,* June 2, 6 (extra), 1812.
[49] *Ibid.,* May 20, 1812; Jacob Young, *Autobiography of a Pioneer; or, The Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young* (Cincinnati, 1857), 293.

When the news of the declaration of war reached Ohio late in June it was received enthusiastically, with salutes from such muskets and cannon as were not already on the road to Detroit. A courier brought the word to Cincinnati on the night of June 29, and on the following day *Liberty Hall* brought forth an extra with the heading: "WAR! The Die is Cast. WAR IS DECLARED. The long-suffering of our government has been completely worn out. . . . After this let tories and traitors beware." [50]

How shall one generalize as to the causes which lay behind Ohio's war enthusiasm? The facts underlying any collective human action can seldom be known so completely as to make it possible to weigh them or treat them statistically. The diverse views as to the causes of the second war against Great Britain demonstrates the difficulties under which the historian labors. The more recent essays dealing with the problem have been attempts to answer a paradox: If the war were fought in defense of maritime rights, one might assume that the New England States, which were most affected, would support the war enthusiastically, but such was not the case. The Western and Southern states, on the other hand, which could not have been directly injured by the Orders in Council, gave ardent support to the struggle. A solution of the second half of the problem, which has gained wide acceptance, shows that southerners and westerners shared an interest in promoting a war for territorial expansion.[51] In the South the annexation of Florida seemed highly desirable, and possible, since Spain was an ally of Great Britain. In the Old Northwest the conquest of Canada, or at least of Upper Canada, seemed worth while, not only for the land itself, but especially because British intrigue could thus be stopped at its source. Much proof can be offered in support of this thesis, in fact some proof could be offered for several different theses. One thing is certain: It would be false to assume that Ohioans were swayed only by provincial interests, or

[50] *Liberty Hall,* June 30 (extra), July 7, 1812.

[51] J. W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1925); see also L. M. Hacker, "Western Land Hunger and the War of 1812: a Conjecture," *M. V. H. Rev.,* X (1923), 365-96; J. W. Pratt, "Western War Aims in the War of 1812," *ibid.,* XII, 36-51.

that their wrath against Britain was aroused solely by her tampering with the Indians. Unless those Ohioans, whose letters have come down to us, and those, whose writings were embalmed in the newspapers of the day, were in a vast conspiracy to deceive posterity, the defense of national honor was uppermost in their minds as war approached. The Allegheny Mountains were a barrier to commerce, but even a casual study of the papers of the day convinces one that they did not serve as a barrier to news. To assert that Ohio's enthusiasm for the war was activated largely by provincial self-interest presupposes that patriotism or national pride was left behind when the emigrants crossed the mountains. Admitting the strength of the desire to quiet the Indian menace and even the possibility that some Ohioans may have coveted their neighbor's lands, there remains this less tangible factor: that westerners felt that national honor had been outraged and that it cried out for vengeance. Ohioans would apparently have fought Britain as willingly in 1807, when the humiliation of the boarding of the *Chesapeake* was weighing on their minds, as they did five years later. It is obvious that no simple statement will explain the coming of the War of 1812. There is something genuine in the words of James Caldwell, already quoted, "In the event of war with England . . . we would attack & conquer Cannady and humble their overbearing pride. . . ."

CHAPTER IV

Ohio and the War of 1812

OHIOANS faced the coming of war with abundant self-confidence. Was not General William Hull already approaching the Canadian border with his intrepid colonels, Duncan McArthur, Lewis Cass, and James Findlay, in command of regiments? So much was expected of this expedition that when the first news of disaster reached Cincinnati it was discounted as a vicious rumor. When the rumor proved only too true, the effect was stupefying and the reaction was one of furious anger.[1] Hull's treason was taken as self-evident and the hunt was on for his accomplices. Even Governor Return J. Meigs was charged with knowledge of a "plot"; he was alleged to be a relative of the traitor and it was said that arrangements had been made for him to receive half the "British money" which had been paid to Hull. Meigs's guilt was shown, the scandal-mongers asserted, by his willingness to place Ohio militiamen under the leadership of the "scoundrel."[2] The governor's defenders soon established his innocence and he was reelected over Judge Thomas Scott of the State Supreme Court in October, although a month earlier his whole career appeared to be in jeopardy.

It seems unnecessary to write a detailed account of the Detroit campaign, since little could be added to the voluminous studies which have already appeared.[3] The purpose of the present chapter

[1] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 26, 1812.

[2] Joseph Wallace to Return J. Meigs, Jr., Marietta, Sept. 14, 1812, Meigs MSS. (in Ohio State Library); Warren (Ohio) *Trump of Fame,* Sept. 30, 1812; *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 29, 1812.

[3] The classic study of the period by Henry Adams is still unexcelled; Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe; William Henry Harrison and His Times* (New York, 1939) is well documented; M. M. Quaife, "General William Hull and His Critics," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XLVII (1938), 168-82.

will be to treat only the salient features of the military campaigns, stressing rather the reactions of Ohioans to the course of the war. As paroled militiamen returned home, voluble with stories of privations suffered to no purpose, the rage against Hull passed all bounds. A letter written by one of these soldiers reveals more than a dozen pages of pedestrian comment:

"DETROIT, August 9, 1812.

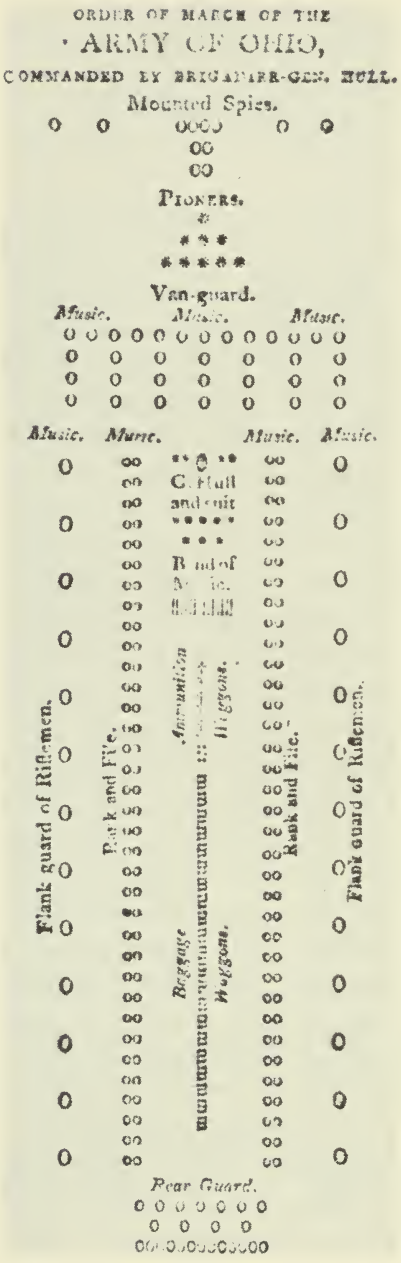
"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"I have only time to inform you that our army surrendered to the British under Gen [Isaac] Brock on the 16th. We could have whipped hell out of the rascals but Gen. Hull has proved himself a traitor and a coward. On the 12th of July, we crossed the river at this place and encamped at Sandwitch in Canada, with the object of driving the red coated devils away from Malden. . . . Gen. Hull was informed there that Fort Mackinaw above Detroit had surrendered to the British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to crush our people. Old Gen. Hull became panic Struck, and in spite of the entreaties of his officers and private Soldiers run us back to this place where we were made to submit to the most shameful surrender that ever took place in the world. Our brave Capt. Harry James cursed and swore like a pirate, and cried like his heart would break. He has got the true blood of his uncle John James flowing in his veins, he would fight a regiment of British, he has treasured up all the Stories of the sufferings of his forefathers in South Carolina during the war of liberty in 1776 and he hates the d—nd rascals as bad as I do. I expect to be at home next month and be sure and have a good turkey cooked; give my love to my father and tell him I have suffered greater hardships in six months than he did in North Carolina during the war for liberty. Love to Phebe and all the family.

"NATHANL ADAMS." [4]

The calamity at Detroit left the settlements on the Ohio frontier unprotected from Indian attack. Panic-stricken families from

[4] Frontier Wars MSS. (in Wisconsin State Historical Society Library), IX, no. 10ff.



the outlying settlements hurried to the protection of the older towns, spreading the wildest stories of Indian outrages. The villages along the shores of Lake Erie were fearful that the British and their barbarous allies would descend upon them with sword and tomahawk.[5] The officers of the militia in that section had wisely cautioned their neighbors to give no credence to reports unless they came directly from official sources. The danger from the westward seemed so imminent that able-bodied men "old and young, without distinction of politics, repaired to the post of danger—no man waited the cold formality of the reception of orders but everyone, exempt or not from military duty put on his armor."[6] The troops from the Western Reserve converged on Cleveland, where Generals Elijah Wadsworth and Simon Perkins were in command.

The whole State was in a mood of intense excitement. Meigs,

[5] *Trump of Fame,* Sept. 16, 1812; L. B. Gurley, *Memoir of Rev. Wm. Gurley, late of Milan, Ohio . . .* (Cincinnati, 1856), 234.
[6] *Trump of Fame,* July 15, Sept. 2, 1812.

10. GENERAL WILLIAM HULL'S ORDER OF MARCH
From Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer,* July 10, 1812.

in an eloquent proclamation, appealed for volunteers for a "tour of service" on the northern frontier. As the forces gathered there was no lack of enthusiasm on the part of the militiamen, but there was woeful mismanagement and confusion in military leadership. The capture of Hull in the middle of August had left the forces in Ohio without a commander-in-chief. More than five weeks elapsed before his successor was chosen, a delay which may well have prevented a successful campaign that season for the recapture of Detroit.

William Henry Harrison, the victor of the Battle of Tippecanoe, was the most popular soldier in the West.[7] From many years of association with frontier militiamen he had acquired unusual ability in handling them. In sharp contrast with Harrison was the aristocratic and rather austere Tennessean, General James Winchester, who, as officer next in rank to Hull, assumed command of such regular and militia regiments as had not been surrendered at Detroit. When the war broke out Harrison, who was governor of Indiana Territory, visited Kentucky where he hoped to raise a force to aid the militia of Indiana in the protection of the Wabash frontier. Because of the insistence of Henry Clay, Richard M. Johnson, and other Kentucky leaders, he accepted a commission as a major-general in the Kentucky militia. While en route to Cincinnati to add his regiments to the force under Winchester, Harrison learned of the disaster at Detroit. It was obvious to Harrison that the Indians would immediately commence their forays on the frontier settlements, from Lake Erie to Lake Michigan. He hurried to Cincinnati, where his worst fears were confirmed by reports of the massacre at Fort Dearborn and the siege of the garrison at Fort Wayne.

As officer in command of Kentucky troops, Harrison took charge of the three regiments of Kentucky militia which had been with Winchester at Cincinnati. There was an embarrassing technicality as to whether he or Winchester was the ranking officer. Harrison solved this problem, simply enough, by putting himself

[7] Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe, passim.*

at the head of a force bound for the relief of Fort Wayne. While on the way, an express rider brought him a brigadier-general's commission sent from Washington, but this he did not accept, since it would have placed him under Winchester. Within three weeks Harrison raised the siege at Fort Wayne, scattering the Indians and burning the crops and villages of those known to have been involved in the attack on the fort. When he reached Piqua on his return from the expedition he received word from the secretary of war placing him in command of the Northwestern Army.[8]

The burden which Harrison assumed was indeed a heavy one. Problems of transportation and supply were in themselves almost insuperable. When one adds the difficulties which arose in the discipline of raw militiamen, one cannot envy the commanding officer. One problem, possibly more acute than others, was the stabilization of the Indian frontier. Harrison's success at Fort Wayne was by no means conclusive. The general's thoughts were so fully occupied in dealing with hostile Indians that he could devote little time to holding conferences with those who were inclined to be friendly. In the latter part of August Senator Thomas Worthington, Congressman Jeremiah Morrow, and others, met a number of Indian leaders in a conference at Piqua. Little was accomplished by their exertions, for in the course of their conversations word was received by the Indians of the defeat of Hull and the fall of Fort Dearborn. The commissioners were also annoyed by the belligerent attitude of the settlers in the Piqua region who were insistent that the Indians had surrendered all their rights under the Greenville Treaty because of their connivance with Tecumseh.[9] Before the conference was concluded a report was received in the Ohio towns to the eastward that the Indians at Piqua had murdered the commissioners, where-

[8] William Eustis to William Henry Harrison, Aug. 22, 1812, in L. B. Esarey, ed., *Harrison's Messages and Letters* (Indianapolis, 1922), II, 92; Harrison to Eustis, Sept. 3, 1812, *ibid.*, II, 110.

[9] Patterson Papers, Draper MSS., III, no. 69.

upon an unorganized group of militiamen set out for that village to take vengeance on the offenders. Upon finding that the report was false, the militiamen, fortified with whiskey, decided to march on to Fort Wayne. Worthington accompanied them until the leaderless mob, on sober second thought, decided that the expedition was too much for them. The senator returned to Chillicothe much depressed from his experience.[10]

The plight of the friendly Indians within the borders of Ohio was truly pitiful. When such Indians learned that the militia was on the march they were greatly disturbed, for from past experiences they regarded such troops as "so many lawless, blood-thirsty murderers." This, at any rate, was the explanation, offered by one of the Moravian missionaries in the Gnadenhutten settlement, for the uneasiness of the friendly Indians.[11] The Reverend Joseph Badger, missionary to the Indians at Sandusky, was convinced of their friendliness but he urged them, when war with Britain seemed inevitable, to move southward toward the Ohio River, where they might prove that they were peaceable and thus pass safely through the critical period.[12] This was sound advice, for undisciplined militiamen were notoriously "quick on the trigger" when Indians were encountered, shooting first and making inquiries later. The plan of bringing unoffending tribes within the settled area was generally supported and seems to have been frequently followed.[13] In Zanesville, for example, over eight hundred friendly Indians were encamped in the fall of 1812.[14]

Although the first concern of Ohioans late in 1812 was in the progress of Harrison's campaign, considerable excitement was aroused by the October and November elections. It may be well

[10] Thomas Worthington, Diary, MS., Aug. 1812, *passim.*

[11] Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, "Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on the River Muskingum for the Year 1812," printed as "Ohio Frontier in 1812," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXII, 205-66; *cf.* 209.

[12] Joseph Badger, *Memoir . . . Containing an Autobiography . . .* (Hudson, O., 1851), 123.

[13] Joseph Kerr to Worthington, Chillicothe, Feb. 15, 1813, in *"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* (Columbus, O.), VI (1903), 70.

[14] Letter of Meigs, reprinted in *Trump of Fame,* Oct. 7, 1812.

to give some attention to this political interlude. The candidacy of Meigs for reelection as governor in opposition to Scott of the State Supreme Court involved a fight between the old factions within the Republican Party. Scott, a native of Maryland and a self-trained lawyer of considerable ability, was a close friend of Worthington and Edward Tiffin.[15] He had been placed on the bench through the influence of the Tammany group which had supported the "sweeping resolutions." Meigs received 11,859 votes to Scott's 7,903. The victory of Meigs indicated the conservative anti-Tammany trend in State politics and reflected also the reaction against the obviously unjust charges from which Meigs had suffered after Hull's surrender. The Presidential election of 1812 has been treated in some detail in a previous chapter. It may be recalled that Tammany electors were chosen to vote for James Madison.

The congressional election of 1812 is noteworthy because, for the first time, six congressmen rather than one were to be selected. The General Assembly of 1811–12 had been perturbed over the manner of conducting this election. For some weeks the comparative merits of a general ticket and the district system were debated. A committee of the House finally reported in favor of districting the State, and this suggestion was approved. The conservative anti-Tammany group dominated the assembly and there is some evidence of gerrymandering.[16] The victorious candidates, named in the order of their districts were: John McLean, John Alexander, Duncan McArthur, William Creighton, Jr., James Caldwell, James Kilbourne, and John S. Edwards. With the exception of Caldwell of Zanesville, who was a Tammany candidate, these men may be classed as conservative Republicans. This congressional election in no way tested the strength of the war spirit in Ohio. Two of the six congressmen did not serve at Washington. McArthur, who was on parole following the surrender of Detroit, returned

[15] J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism* . . . (Cincinnati, 1855), 154-62.

[16] James Caldwell to Worthington, Dec. 14, 1811, Worthington MSS.; Charles Norton to *id.*, Jan. 8, 1812, *ibid.;* Wyllys Silliman to *id.*, Jan. 12, 1812, *ibid.;* Norton to *id.*, Mar. 4, 1812, *ibid.*

to the army after his exchange had been arranged, and Edwards of Trumbull County died shortly after his election.

A political episode which produced some excitement was the selection by the Assembly of 1812–13 of a United States senator to succeed Alexander Campbell, who had declined reelection. A number of candidates were brought forward. One sarcastic legislator wrote: "There is a rage for military heroes who covered themselves with glory at the surrender of Detroit." [17] The reference was to Cass, who for a time was considered a strong candidate. He declined to have his name considered, probably because of his desire for the generalship to which he was shortly appointed. The contest finally narrowed down to Morrow, who had been Ohio's congressman since 1803, and Judge Calvin Pease. The New Englanders and the Clintonians in the assembly supported Pease, and others may have favored him because it was felt that the northeastern section of the State deserved to choose a senator, since Morrow, who lived in the Miami Valley, would add to the influence of the southwestern section, already represented by Worthington.[18]

During the fall months of 1812 the new commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army worked under tremendous pressure. The War Department had given him a free hand in the details of the campaign, but the objectives were specific. Harrison was to provide protection for the entire northwestern frontier, retake Detroit, "and with a view to the Conquest of Upper Canada, you will penetrate that country as far as the force under your command will in your judgement justify." [19] While no time limit was indicated for the completion of this program, the general public, to say nothing of the war party in Congress, was clamoring for a victory. It was unfortunate for Harrison that Hull's surrender was currently explained as an act of treason. Hull had appreciated, possibly too well, the difficulty of holding Detroit while the British were in control of Lake Erie, and while they held Fort Malden as a con-

[17] John Hamm to E. A. Brown, Zanesville, Jan. 6, 1813, Brown MSS.
[18] Norton to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 15, 1812, Worthington MSS.
[19] Esarey, ed., *Harrison's Messages and Letters*, II, 136.

stant threat to the line of communications between Detroit and the Ohio settlements. Harrison understood Hull's predicament more fully as his own campaign unfolded. It would have been wise, in Harrison's opinion, for Hull to have abandoned Detroit, if necessary, in order to have captured Malden.[20] The capture of that fort became the prime objective of Harrison's strategy; if he were successful in that enterprise, the British would be forced to withdraw from Detroit.

The success of a fall campaign depended on many factors, not the least important being the weather. If the fall rains were delayed or if they were light, the supply wagons might get through to the Lake with the million rations which would be required by the troops. But the rains came early and were heavy, and Harrison spent many fruitless days in search of a fairly dry route over which supplies could be hauled. After the rains had rendered all routes impassable, operations were almost at a standstill until the ground was frozen solid, early in December.

As his advance base of operations Harrison chose a site below the Maumee Rapids. His forces were to converge on this point from three different directions. The Virginia and Pennsylvania volunteers, together with the militia from eastern Ohio, were to march along Lake Erie and establish positions on the lower Sandusky River. The main force of the Ohio militia, under General Edward Tupper, had the responsibility of holding the forts along the road from Urbana to the Lake, which Hull's men had built the previous spring. Winchester commanded the left wing, which was most exposed to Indian attack. His main base was at Fort Defiance, built at the junction of the Maumee and Auglaize rivers. Winchester's troops, located in the heart of the Black Swamp, could be reprovisioned only with the greatest difficulty, and at times they suffered so severely from lack of food and proper clothing that they were on the verge of mutiny. In addition to these main forces, several smaller units from time to time made forays into the Indian country to the west of the line held by Winchester.

[20] *Ibid.*, 240-3.

Early in December Harrison must have realized that the campaign had, almost literally, bogged down, but he continued to move troops and supplies toward the rendezvous at the Rapids, when the weather permitted. While Harrison was thus engaged, the Kentuckians under Winchester had reached the lower Maumee. Here they were met by a delegation from Frenchtown, a small settlement on the River Raisin, some thirty miles beyond. The visitors painted an attractive picture of the stores that could be seized and the advantageous position to be gained by a rapid march against the small British force in that neighborhood. The prospect of the capture of stores was too great a temptation for the Kentuckians, who had been half-starved for weeks. The idea also appealed to Winchester, who knew that reinforcements were not more than two day's march away.[21] He assumed that Harrison was still considering an aggressive campaign, not knowing that orders from Washington had just been received which cautioned against any hazardous undertaking. Harrison made a desperate effort to get in touch with Winchester after he learned of the latter's decision to march on Frenchtown, but he failed. The tragic story of the massacre of the Kentuckians at the River Raisin is generally known. It is another instance of overeagerness on the part of militiamen, driven desperate in this case by delay and inactivity. The barbarity of the Indians, apparently unrestrained by General Henry Proctor, made his name accursed throughout the West.[22] "Remember the River Raisin" became a rallying cry among all the western troops. The tragedy was not relieved by the fact that if Proctor had delayed his attack on the Kentuckians by five or six hours, reinforcements sent by Harrison would have arrived in time to save the day.

The defeat and capture of the greater part of Harrison's left wing was a terrific blow to the morale of the troops under his command. It brought to an end any hopes for the success of the

[21] James Winchester to Harrison, Jan. 13, 1813, *ibid.*, 314.

[22] *Ibid.*, 331; Report of Nimrod Doyell, May 3, 1813, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, D. C., 1832-34), I, 843.

winter campaign. In a sense this must have been a relief to Harrison, who realized, even before Winchester's defeat, that his situation on the lower Maumee was most precarious in view of his long line of communications. He was in no position to assume the offensive. Harrison was overcautious, and was always inclined to exaggerate the strength of the enemy. Unquestionably he overestimated the abilities of his opponent, Proctor.

In the depths of despondency the troops at the Rapids of the Maumee turned to the building of what came to be known as Fort Meigs. The construction, fortunately, was supervised by Major Eleazer Wood, a competent military engineer with West Point training.

With the defeat at the River Raisin, January 22, 1813, the second attempt at the invasion of Canada within a half-year ended disastrously and Ohio was itself in serious danger of invasion. It was inevitable that the discouraging outlook on the northwestern frontier would call forth sarcastic comment from those who were in opposition to the war. The vigor and extent of this opposition should be taken into account by those who have ascribed the war to western enthusiasm. A correspondent of Worthington's, writing from St. Clairsville in February, 1813, stated that "Harrison's calumny is as orthodox among the Federalists here, as the Alcoran is among the Mahometans." [23] The Federalists of St. Clairsville had a most competent spokesman in the person of Charles Hammond, who in May, 1813, commenced the publication of the *Ohio Federalist,* the most virulent of the antiwar newspapers.

Hammond was one of the ablest controversialists in the history of Ohio journalism.[24] As a young lawyer, newly emigrated from Virginia, he had contributed a series of articles to the Chillicothe, Ohio, *Scioto Gazette* defending Governor Arthur St. Clair at the time of the struggle over Ohio's statehood. The *Ohio Federalist* was his first venture in newspaper editing, undertaken after an

[23] Benjamin Ruggles to Worthington, Feb. 11, 1813, Worthington MSS.

[24] W. H. Smith, *Charles Hammond and His Relation to Henry Clay and John Adams, an Address Delivered before the Chicago Historical Society* (Chicago, 1885).

attempt at farming in the St. Clairsville neighborhood. He unmasked his guns with his first issue, declaring that he was among those "who do not believe that this war is compatible with either our interest or our honour, & who can see nothing but a scheme of aggrandizement in the attempt to conquer Canada." [25] A few months later, when Hammond had become a candidate for the State Senate, he wrote a long editorial on the war, which may be quoted as illustrating the caustic vigor of his style:

"I am opposed to the men who now administer our government, because I believe they never entertained just views of the true interests of our common country. . . . I am opposed to this war because I believe it impolitic and oppressive. Impolitic, because it originated in a shameful sacrifice of national honour to French intrigue and perfidy. Impolitic, because there neither was nor now is any reasonable hope of effecting the objects for which it was commenced. Impolitic, because it has given rise to infinitely greater evils than those it pretended to remedy. Impolitic, because it was commenced at a time when divisions, necessarily attending a presidential election, weakened the national arm. . . . Impolitic, because it was commenced in a state of preparation which necessarily led to disaster and disgrace. Oppressive, because war always enriches the few at the expence of the many. Oppressive, because it is calculated to 'depress the peaceable and exalt the turbulent, to discourage industry and invite rapine, to burden labour for the support of idleness, and subject virtue to vice.' Oppressive, because carrying on a war, by drafts upon the militia, operates unequally, exacting as much from the poor as the rich. . . ." [26]

Nor was the *Ohio Federalist* alone in its stand against the war and the Administration. In December, 1812, the Zanesville (Ohio) *Express and Republican Standard* made its appearance under the editorship of Edwin Putnam and Joseph Israel. Both this paper

[25] St. Clairsville *Ohio Federalist*, May 11, 1813; F. P. Weisenburger, "A Life of Charles Hammond, the First Great Journalist of the Old Northwest," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLIII (1934), 337-427.

[26] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1813.

and that of Hammond mark a new departure in the pattern of Ohio newspapers, for the editors revealed their opinions more candidly and showed much more interest in local affairs than was usual at the time. While Putnam and Israel were not so bitter as Hammond in their condemnation of the war, they were not inclined to mince words. In summarizing their editorial policy at the conclusion of their first year, they wrote: "With respect to the expediency and policy of the present war, we continue to entertain serious doubts, as we have hitherto done. It is our solemn conviction that war would not have been declared, but for the Orders in Council. The impressment of our seamen, the alleged cause for its continuance, had been twice dispensed with, and not considered as an insuperable barrier to adjustment. . . ."[27] The editors, it will be noted, were still inclined to question the validity of the grounds for the declaration of war even after the victories of Oliver H. Perry on Lake Erie and of Harrison at the Thames.

The criticism of Harrison in the winter of 1812 was not confined to the Federalist press, for it was commonly observed that only a series of forts, precariously held, resulted from months of effort and millions of dollars in expenditure. Fort Meigs, the keystone of Harrison's defensive structure, was an immense fortification for those days, covering approximately eight acres of the high southern bank of the Maumee, which here flows to the northeast. More than a dozen additional forts, guarding the flanks and lines of communication, supported this advance post. The much vaunted campaign against Canada had degenerated into a series of tedious defensive operations.

Although the idea of a general offensive had been given up after Winchester's defeat, a number of unsuccessful attacks were made on outlying British positions. The weather continued to thwart Harrison's plans. A thaw early in February prevented what promised to be a successful sortie for the purpose of burning a British warship which was tied up for the winter at Fort Amherstburg. In the second week in February Harrison wrote to the secretary

[27] Zanesville (Ohio) *Express and Republican Standard,* Dec. 22, 1813.

of war that he had abandoned his plans for an attack on Fort Malden: "I have waited with an anxiety which I cannot describe for a change in the weather and untill this day I never abandoned hope. For the last twelve or fifteen days . . . it has been so warm that the roads have become entirely broken up." [28] Yet this was usually the season of intense cold, and in normal years even the Black Swamp would have been passable. Even if the weather had been favorable Harrison could not have undertaken a large scale offensive, for the period of enlistment of the Kentucky troops in his command had come to an end and neither Harrison's eloquence nor the bonus offered by the Kentucky legislature could prevail on more than few of them to reenlist. Harrison sent an urgent message to Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky to speed up the recruiting service, since he foresaw the need of reinforcements if Fort Meigs were to be attacked in the spring. At this juncture and on other occasions Harrison showed a lack of confidence in Ohio troops, the basis of which is not clear, although the achievement of Tupper's brigade, for example, was less than satisfactory, as may be discovered from a detailed study.[29]

After the abandonment of operations beyond Fort Meigs, Harrison spent some weeks inspecting other fortifications, visiting his family at Cincinnati, and attending to the details of his service of supplies. The spring came early and with it the commencement of the sporadic attacks of Indians on outlying posts. Harrison hastened to Fort Meigs to prepare for an attack. It was not clear at what point Proctor would launch his offensive, but late in April enemy activity on the banks of the Maumee opposite the American fort indicated that the British would attempt to besiege that position. The construction of Fort Meigs had been progressing rapidly after Harrison's arrival early in April, and feverish efforts were now made to strengthen the ramparts which paralleled the river, for it was now evident that they must withstand the heaviest weight of the enemy's artillery fire.

[28] Esarey, ed., *Harrison's Messages and Letters*, II, 357.
[29] Harrison to John Armstrong, Mar. 27, 1813, *ibid.*, 401.

The first siege of Fort Meigs, lasting from April 28 to May 8, 1813, was the most critical engagement fought within Ohio during the course of the war.[30] It is difficult to conjecture what course the war might have taken if the fort had fallen. A more resourceful general than Proctor might have succeeded where he failed, and in such an event northwestern Ohio could easily have been overrun. Within the fort were some 1200 effective troops, and Proctor had approximately the same number of British regulars and Canadian militia. But the British had in addition between fifteen hundred and two thousand Indian allies, capably led by Tecumseh. In spite of his great efforts at forwarding supplies to the fort, Harrison realized that his stores of gunpowder and cannon balls must be used most sparingly. The water supply of the fort was not adequate and the facilities for taking care of the sick and wounded were most primitive. Only one fact made the prospect bright: General Green Clay, with some twelve hundred Kentuckians, had reached the headwaters of the Maumee and was preparing boats for the descent of the river. The supplies which he brought with him would be as valuable as his reinforcements.

The British and Indians had almost complete freedom of movement in the region around the fort, and at times it seemed that every tree and stump sheltered an Indian. Supplies for the enemy were easily transported by boat up the Maumee from Lake Erie, and the guns of a British war vessel were, at one stage, brought into action against the fort. The heavy batteries across the river from the fort continued the bombardment almost incessantly, but the massive ramparts gave effective protection. The dwindling supplies within the fort made Harrison painfully aware that a prolonged siege would end in disaster. The British must have become aware of his situation, for on two occasions an officer under a flag of truce came forward with an offer to accept the surrender of the fort on honorable terms. These were, of course, refused by Harrison who knew that Clay's reinforcements could not be far off.

[30] H. W. Compton, "Siege of Fort Meigs," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, X (1902), 315-30; letter of Samuel Cushing, dated Ft. Meigs, June 8, 1813, in *M. V. H. Rev.*, XIX (1932), 262-4.

On May 4, after the siege had continued for a week, word was brought that the Kentuckians were at the Rapids, less than two hours by flatboat from the fort. Harrison sent a messenger to General Green Clay with detailed orders for the final stages of his expedition. Two-thirds of his force, about eight hundred men, were to land on the left bank of the river some distance above the fort, where they were to ascend the bank and attack the British batteries and spike their cannon. When this was accomplished the Kentuckians were to return to their boats, cross the river and enter the fort. On the following morning the tactics outlined by Harrison were carried out quite accurately up to a certain point. A large force, under the command of Colonel William Dudley, stormed the batteries and spiked the guns, but they disregarded Harrison's explicit instructions to return immediately to their boats. These men had marched northward with one thought in mind: to avenge the massacre of their fellow Kentuckians at the River Raisin. When they saw Indians lurking on the edge of the timber the temptation was too great and they commenced a disorderly advance against the savages. Harrison tried in vain to get word across the river to warn them of a possible ambush. The Kentuckians pursued the Indians farther and farther into the timber, where they were surrounded and only about one fourth of the eight hundred escaped death or capture. The prisoners were killed or tortured mercilessly until Tecumseh intervened. Such, briefly told, is the story of "Dudley's Defeat," a bloody episode in the history of the war, to be ranked with the massacre at the River Raisin.[31]

In spite of the horrible fate which had overtaken almost one-half of the force sent to relieve Harrison, the siege shortly took a turn in favor of the Americans. Proctor's Indian allies became disgruntled as they discovered that the fort was not to be taken as easily as the British had prophesied. It is also possible that the Canadian militia became disaffected. It was obvious that the fort could not be stormed from the side next the river and British

[31] Narrative of Thomas Christian, in Western Reserve Historical Society, *Publication* (Cleveland), no. 23 (1874), 4-5.

guns were brought across the Maumee and emplaced to the south of the fort. These new batteries were captured by a force of 350 men under Colonel John Miller of the 19th U. S. Regiment. The attack on the guns cost the lives of thirty men and three times that number in wounded, but it marked the turn of the siege. The Indians were now convinced that they were not to have the pleasure of plundering the fort, and they began to desert in large numbers. On May 8 it was discovered that the British guns had been dismounted during the night and were being loaded on a sloop for the return to Fort Malden. Thus ended the most serious threat of military invasion in the annals of Ohio. The fort was defended at a cost of 77 killed and 196 wounded, excluding the losses under Dudley. Almost 200 Americans died of camp fever and other illnesses in a period of three months during and after the siege. The present-day traveler passing through Perrysburg might well turn to the left before crossing the river to examine the scene of this heroic defense of Ohio's northwestern frontier.

Clay was placed in charge of Fort Meigs after the siege had been lifted and Harrison journeyed to Lower Sandusky where Meigs and a large force of Ohio militia awaited to congratulate him and to offer their services for an expedition against Proctor. Here he received word from the War Department that he had at last been raised to the rank of a major-general, which placed him in charge of an enlarged military district. McArthur and Cass, who as colonels in Hull's force had been on parole, were now appointed to major-generalships. Secretary of War John Armstrong, who had been elevated to Madison's cabinet largely from political considerations, now began to show an inclination to interfere with the details of Harrison's plans. He ordered Harrison to limit the scope of his operations against Canada until the naval force, under construction at Presque Isle, should be ready to take the offensive.[32] Prior to the siege at Fort Meigs, Armstrong had made the impractical suggestion that Cleveland, rather than that fort, should be

[32] Armstrong to Harrison, Mar. 5, 1813, in Esarey, ed., *Harrison's Messages and Letters,* II, 379-81.

Harrison's advance post. Although Harrison was profoundly irritated at what he must have considered officious meddling, he was neither at liberty to criticize his superior nor to explain to the rank and file of the army why he must remain inactive. The larger part of the Ohio militia which had been recruited under the excitement of Proctor's invasion was now disbanded, much to the disgust of the volunteers. Harrison could not explain that he was awaiting the completion of a fleet which certainly would have been ready if the Administration at Washington had heeded his own advice or Hull's earlier warning.

In the interval between the siege of Fort Meigs and Perry's Victory the course of the war in Ohio was unexciting save for two or three episodes. In June Harrison presided over an important conference of Indian leaders at Franklinton. In the latter part of July Proctor laid siege to Fort Meigs for the second time, and early in August the imagination of the country was captivated by Major George Croghan's heroic defense of Fort Stephenson.

Harrison was well aware that if Proctor had captured Fort Meigs many Indians in northwestern Ohio would have joined the British forces. Proctor had intimated as much when he agreed to exchange Kentucky prisoners for pro-British Indians within Ohio. Atrocities along the frontier had raised the temper of Ohioans to such a pitch that threats were made even against the friendly Indians at the Sandusky and Moravian missions. Harrison felt that the recent victory had created an opportunity for a decisive conference. More than fifty leaders of the Wyandot, Seneca, Shawnee, and Delaware tribes came together at Franklinton on June 21, 1813. The general told them that Indian neutrality could no longer be tolerated. Tribes which wished to show their friendliness to the United States must either move their families within the American lines or send their warriors to join the American forces.[33] Tarhe the Crane, principal chief of the Wyandots, who since the signing of the Treaty of Greenville had been a consistent friend of the Americans, was the spokesman for the Indians. He protested that they

[33] Franklinton (Ohio) *Freeman's Chronicle,* June 25, 1813.

were loyal and that they only awaited an opportunity to fight under Harrison's leadership. This conference, together with the trend of the war, did much to quiet the Indian frontier. Tarhe with a number of his warriors marched with Harrison in subsequent campaigns including the expedition into Canada which ended in the Battle of the Thames.


PARADE ORDERS.

IN PEACE PREPARE

PARE FOR WAR

The Franklin Dragoons are ordered to parad in Franklinton, in front of the *Court House* on the last Saturday in May next, in complete uniform. A punctual attendance is expected

J. [illegible] ADT.

Columbus [illegible]

11. PARADE ORDER
From Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* May 27, 1819.

Before the Franklinton conference had broken up, warning was received from General Green Clay that another attack on Fort Meigs was impending. Harrison hastened to reinforce Clay, but on arrival at the fort, found that the attack had not materialized. The Americans were quite unaware of the true situation of the British force across the Lake. Sir George Prevost, commander of the British forces in Canada, was contemplating the abandonment of all posts west of Lake Ontario, and therefore ordered Proctor to remain at Malden rather than risk another failure such as the first attack on Fort Meigs. Proctor, however, was in a most difficult position, for the Indians under Tecumseh were more than eager for an attack on the Americans, and Tecumseh himself complained that he had been preparing for this war for eight years and was in no mood for delay. The Indians virtually forced Proctor to accompany them in an attack on Fort Meigs which commenced on July 20. Proctor's artillery support consisted of the rather ineffective fire from small gunboats anchored in the Maumee below the fort. The fort was even better prepared for defense than it had

been in April, which explains the withdrawal of the enemy's forces at the end of a week.[34]

Moved again largely by Indian insistence, Proctor undertook an offensive movement against the American posts on the lower Sandusky River. Harrison and his staff were of the opinion that Fort Stephenson (Fremont) should be abandoned, since Fort Seneca, some miles up-stream, could be more easily defended and reinforced. He therefore ordered Croghan, in command at the former position, to destroy his supplies, burn the fort and retreat to Fort Seneca.[35] The 21-year-old Kentuckian chose to disobey this order. When a frontal attack was made against the fort on August 2, the British were overwhelmed by accurate rifle-fire and a spray of slugs from "Good Bess," Croghan's single piece of artillery. In the course of the attack the British and the Indians suffered over 150 casualties, one-third in killed. In his official report Proctor wrote, "A more than adequate Sacrifice having been made to Indian Opinion, I drew off the brave Assailants." He did not even linger to rescue all the wounded British regulars. Croghan's losses were one killed and seven wounded.[36] This action at Fort Stephenson was regarded then and for many years after as one of the most brilliant episodes in American military annals. Without detracting in the least from Croghan's reputation for bravery and cleverness, it may be well to remark that he disobeyed orders and was successful; Dudley had disobeyed and his troops were massacred. Although Harrison received considerable criticism for not having moved his troops to the support of Croghan, military experts would be inclined to support him, rather than Croghan, for one should not gamble on the possible stupidity of one's adversary, although in this engagement, as it turned out, the British commander was far from clever.

Harrison's plans and prospects were now contingent on the progress made by Perry in completing the flotilla at Erie. The

[34] Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe,* 178ff.
[35] *Ibid.,* 180.
[36] George Croghan to Harrison, Aug. 5, 1813, in Esarey, ed., *Harrison's Messages and Letters,* II, 515.

British forces had great freedom of movement so long as their fleet, under Captain Robert Heriot Barclay, controlled the Lake, but the American ships were nearing completion and a shift in the situation was to be expected. In surmounting the difficulties of creating a fleet, Perry won a victory over greater odds than he encountered in the subsequent naval action. The entrance to the harbor in which his boats were built was protected by a bar which kept the blockading British vessels from closing in, but also prevented the completed American ships from sailing out into deep water. The story of how the vessels were lifted over the bar by the use of barges, is almost as interesting as the account of Perry's later exploits.[37]

In anticipation of an attack on Canada, once the control of the Lake had been secured, Harrison again appealed to Shelby of Kentucky for recruits, showing a rather obvious lack of confidence in Ohio troops. Old Isaac Shelby, whose military reputation was first established at the battle of King's Mountain, placed himself at the head of the Kentucky troops as they hurried toward Sandusky. On August 12, 1813, Perry sailed from his base at Erie and within five days he came to anchor at Sandusky. After consulting with Harrison he sailed to Put-in-Bay, an excellent anchorage at South Bass Island. Here he was reinforced by volunteers from Harrison's troops, who constituted an improvised corps of marines, although few of the frontiersmen could have had more than a vague idea of what would be expected of them in a naval engagement.

For three weeks Perry waited for the British squadron to move from its protected anchorage near Fort Malden. At daylight on September 10 Barclay's six vessels were discovered in the open water to the northwest of Put-in-Bay. Perry, with a favorable wind, immediately sailed to the attack. The action commenced shortly before noon and continued violently for three hours. Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence,* having borne the full weight of British fire in the first stage of the battle, was forced to strike her colors, but the

[37] Theodore Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812* (New York, 1902), 255ff.

young commander was rowed from his disabled ship to the *Niagara,* sister ship of the *Lawrence,* and from her deck he resumed direction of the battle. The *Niagara* had been out of range of the British fire during the first part of the engagement, and the full weight of her broadside now proved too severe for the British ships, already badly crippled, and Barclay was compelled to surrender.

Few naval victories have so captured the imagination of Americans as that of the 27-year-old Perry. Without disparagement to his ability or his bravery it should be observed that he fought with the odds heavily in his favor. His nine brigs and schooners displaced only 200 tons more than did the six ships in Barclay's squadron, but the weight of Perry's broadside totalled 936 pounds to 459 for the British. The decisive factor in the engagement was the three to two advantage which the Americans possessed in the weight of metal thrown by long guns. The *Lawrence* bore more than her share of the burden of the battle, which casts some doubts on the seamanship of the officers under Perry's command. If the battle had taken a different turn the obvious flaws in the maneuvering of the American vessels in the first half of the engagement would have been severely criticized. But Americans, more than eager for any sort of victory, were in no mood for carping criticism.

When Perry's hastily scribbled note, "We have met the enemy and they are ours . . . ," was received by Harrison, he realized that the war in the West had at last taken a decisive turn. The moment had come for the invasion of Canada. Within four days after the victory Shelby and his enthusiastic Kentuckians arrived at Harrison's encampment. Harrison lost no time in completing his preparations, and on September 27 his forces disembarked on Canadian soil, near the smoldering ruins of Fort Malden.[38]

The plight in which Proctor now found himself is ample evidence that both Hull and Harrison had been correct in advising the War Department that American control of Lake Erie was the simplest way of compelling the British to evacuate the peninsula

[38] Speech of Harrison, in *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 Sess., 1029.

opposite Detroit. Had their advice been acted upon with speed and energy in the early months of the war, much expense and suffering could have been avoided. Had it not been for the necessity of maintaining the alliance with Tecumseh, Proctor would have commenced his retreat to the eastward even before Perry's Victory. His Indian allies far from being a source of strength, now became an outright liability. For a time Proctor attempted to deceive the Indians regarding the true nature of the disaster at Put-in-Bay, but when it became clear to Tecumseh that the British were making ready for retreat, he and his warriors did not attempt to conceal their rage. Proctor sought to placate them by a promise that a stand against the invaders would be made at Chatham, a promise which the British commander probably did not intend to keep.[39]

Proctor was under orders to withdraw his troops to Burlington Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario, in the event that his situation became desperate. This he now prepared to do, but in so dilatory a fashion that one may assume that he did not anticipate a pursuit by Harrison. He discovered, soon enough, that the Americans were hot upon his trail. Malden and Sandwich were taken by Harrison's troops without resistance, and McArthur, with a sizeable force was sent across the river to guard Detroit from Indian depredations. Colonel R. M. Johnson's mounted regiment, arriving at Detroit shortly after McArthur's brigade, crossed the river into Canada to join Harrison's infantry. The American invaders now totalled something over 4,000 men, but the effective troops were reduced by forces which were detailed to guard Malden, Sandwich, and Detroit.

On October 2 Harrison set out in pursuit of Proctor with nearly 3,000 men.[40] In the next three days 60 miles were covered, burned bridges were repaired, and minor skirmishes were fought with Indians straggling behind Proctor's forces. Johnson's cavalry acted as the spearhead of the American advance, setting a rapid pace for the foot soldiers. The line of march paralleled the Thames, a stream

[39] Letters of Henry Proctor to Francis De Rottenburg, in Michigan Historical Commission, *Historical Collections* (Lansing), XV (1890).

[40] Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe,* 188-205.

large enough to accommodate some of the lighter vessels in Perry's flotilla. These ships, laden with supplies for the troops, entered the lower river.

In mid-afternoon on October 5, advance parties of the American force discovered that the British and Indians had halted in their flight and were preparing to offer battle at a point where their flanks would be protected by the river on one side and a sizeable swamp on the other. Their entire position was well screened by dense timber. Harrison, as usual, overestimated the strength of the enemy, but in this instance he ordered a direct frontal attack. The British regulars, who numbered less than 500 men, were quickly overwhelmed, for their position had been taken on level ground, and they had no artillery support. On their left flank the Americans encountered more difficulty. Tecumseh, with a fairly large force of Indians, had taken his position in the swamp, where his warriors were protected from effective attack by Johnson's cavalry. The Indians were compelled to give ground, however, and in the course of the battle Tecumseh was killed, by whom or how it was not known, although Johnson was not averse to taking the credit. Proctor, whose conduct during the whole retreat bordered on cowardice, eluded his pursuers, to their great disappointment. The number killed on both sides during the encounter probably did not total much over 100. During the course of the campaign some 600 of the enemy were captured by the Americans.

The Battle of the Thames, although the forces engaged seem insignificant, may be said to mark the conclusion of the war, so far as Ohio was concerned. Caleb Atwater, the pioneer Ohio historian, who had first-hand knowledge of the course of war sentiment in Ohio wrote: "The war may be said to have ended in Ohio, on the 5th day of October, 1813, and all that was done afterwards, was merely the guarding of the frontier. . . ." [41] The death of Tecumseh outweighed all other results of Harrison's campaign, in the minds of Ohioans, for without his able leadership the con-

[41] Caleb Atwater, *History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil* (Cincinnati, 1838), 242.

federation which he built up could not survive. With the disappearance of the British from Detroit and the neighboring forts, there was no longer any means for the British to maintain their hold upon the Indians. In subsequent conferences, the recalcitrant tribes were pacified by one means or another, with the net result that the frontier was made safe from their depredations and the way was cleared for further settlement in what had been Indian lands. Since Ohioans generally regarded the breaking of Tecumseh's confederation as the conclusive stage of the war, it might be argued that the quieting of the Indian frontier had been their principal reason for supporting the war at its outset.

Ohio soldiers could claim small credit for Harrison's victorious campaign, since the bulk of his force had been made up of Kentuckians. Two Ohio generals, McArthur and Cass, commanded brigades during the expedition. McArthur, as has been noted, was placed in charge of the troops which reoccupied Detroit, while Cass accompanied Harrison as a staff officer. At the commencement of the preparation for the campaign, prior to Perry's Victory, an acrimonious dispute between Harrison and Meigs had reached a climax.[42] While many of the facts regarding this quarrel remain obscure, it seems to have arisen from the dismissal of a large force of Ohio militiamen which was guarding, and incidentally consuming, the provisions which were stored at Upper Sandusky. Harrison felt justified in dismissing the troops because their term of enlistment was to expire on September 20, which would make them unavailable for the expedition into Canada. Resolutions condemning Harrison's action appeared in a Chillicothe paper, and Meigs is known to have addressed a letter of bitter criticism to the general. After attempting to unravel this, and similar episodes, one is forced to conclude, with a contemporary, that the war was three-fourths politics and one-fourth fighting.

When Harrison was called to the New York sector after the conclusion of the campaign of the Thames, McArthur was placed

[42] Samuel Williams, Journal, MS., III, 278, 284; Lewis Cass to Duncan McArthur, Seneca, Sept. 10, 1813, McArthur MSS., III, no. 571.

in charge of the defense of Ohio's northern frontier. Harrison proceeded to New York City and eventually to Washington after the winter weather, or Secretary of War John Armstrong's meddling, had brought an end to the activity along Lake Ontario. The incompetence and political intrigue which were only too evident in the eastern centers and at the Capital, led Harrison to leave for Ohio in a mood of deep depression. When both his competence and honesty were called in question by Armstrong, Harrison was led to resign his commission, and eventually to ask for a congressional investigation. As for McArthur, his subsequent military experiences were far from satisfactory to a man with his ambitions. Aside from a few successful forays into Upper Canada, in which barns and mills were destroyed, McArthur had little enough to show for his months of service during the remainder of the war. In a letter written to his wife in the spring of 1814 he complained, "I am heartily tired of a war, which promises neither credit nor advantage, from the manner in which it has been conducted."[43]

The war increased in popularity with the victories of Perry and Harrison. Yet in certain quarters, opposition both to the war and the Administration was expressed with surprising candor. Belmont County saw fit to elect Charles Hammond, whose diatribes against the war have already been mentioned, to a seat in the State Senate in 1814. A similarly minded man, James McMillan, came to the State Senate from Jefferson County. Nor was the opposition confined to the eastern section of the State, for Franklinton was acknowledged to be a center of disaffection. In a letter written in March, 1814, an army officer commented: "The citizens of Franklinton have become so notorious for their opposition to the cause of our country that it would be but justice to remove the general rendezvous from it to a place more friendly to the interests of the United States."

One of the most interesting phases of opposition to the Admin-

[43] McArthur to his wife, Lake George, Apr. 15, 1814, *ibid.*, VII, no. 1274; C. H. Cramer, "Duncan McArthur: the Military Phase," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVI (1937), 128-47.

istration was the organization of Washington Benevolent Societies at Zanesville, the neighboring village of Springfield (Putnam), and possibly in other centers. This fraternity stood for Federalism of the bluest shade.[44] Public invitations were given, welcoming to the society's celebrations "those who admire the character of Washington and approve the policy of his administration." The secret oath taken by members reveals clearly that the purpose of the organization was to promote the interests of the Federalist Party. Washington's birthday was elaborately commemorated. The toasts drunk at some of the Zanesville society's dinners will show the political attitude of the organization:

"Peace to our land—it may dishonour our rulers, but it will give liberty and independence to our country."

"The Canadas—The land of others, let us defend our own."

"Our Little Navy—Federalism claims it for her own; it has plucked up the drowning honor of the nation by the locks."

"Eastern States—Remain firm; you have friends in the West."

"War—Free Trade & Sailors' Right the pretense, but the will of Napoleon the cause, and bankruptcy the consequence." [45]

It should not be inferred that the point of view expressed by this organization was held by a very large number of Ohioans, although the Zanesville society boasted a membership of one hundred. Such irreconcilable Federalists as Paul Fearing, Ephraim Cutler, and Rufus Putnam are known to have been members, and their point of view was doubtless typical of the society generally. While the integrity of these gentlemen was never questioned, they had ceased to have any political prestige with their defeat in the statehood contest, ten years earlier. The attitudes expressed by society members in their open meetings received adverse comment in the newspapers throughout the State, thereby giving to the organization more publicity than its political strength warranted.

The news of the defeat of Napoleon and his exile to Elba, which

[44] H. H. Ballard, "A Forgotten Fraternity," Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society, *Collections* (Pittsfield, Mass.), III (1913), no. 4.

[45] Zanesville *Express and Republican Standard,* Mar. 9, 1814.

reached Ohio in the late spring of 1814, was received with divergent comment. Hammond rejoiced in the downfall of the emperor, capped by the "Glorious News" of his banishment. It was a singular fact, he commented, that "the greatest tyrant that ever oppressed the world is dethroned, & his fate is regretted by nobody, but the Republicans of the only republic in the universe." [46] But Hammond was seemingly almost alone in his rejoicing. Genuine alarm was expressed by newspapers throughout the State over the prospect of a more vigorous war policy on the part of Great Britain. The editor of the *Western Spy* in August, 1814, pointed out that the war had entered a new phase:

"The time has now arrived when our enemy can no longer pretend that she is 'fighting for the liberties of the world'—all Europe is subservient to her views. The object of the war is evidently changed since its commencement—it is no longer a war in support of impressment or blockading decrees; but the subjugation of the U. States is openly avowed by presses under the influence of her ministers. When her motives are thus plain to every one, is there a single American, native or adopted, that can conscientiously oppose the war at the present crisis? We trust there is not." [47]

The year 1814 brought the economic burden of the war directly to Ohio taxpayers. The General Assembly of 1813–14 had assumed Ohio's proportion of the direct tax, adding it later to the general levy. The assessment, exclusive of the tax on lands held by non-residents, was for $104,150. This sum was readily obtained from banks within the State, for these institutions had not as yet succumbed to the temptation of inflation and their soundness was recognized throughout the Nation. The tax was a slight burden, indeed, when one considers that many times that sum were being expended annually within the State for army supplies. As early as November, 1812, Worthington received a letter from a Chillicothean containing the comment that "this state is much benefited

[46] *Ohio Federalist,* June 22, 29, 1814; Zanesville *Express and Republican Standard,* June 22, 1814.

[47] Aug. 13, 1814.

by the war in a pecuniary point of view. Country produce is very high and in demand. Whiskey 75 cents and scarce, flour five dollars and other kinds of country produce in proportion. . . ." [48] John H. Piatt, the Cincinnati merchant who furnished part of the supplies for the Northwestern Army, wrote in *Niles' Register* in November, 1813, that he could not be accused of profiteering. His charges for flour had been: $6 a barrel at Cincinnati, $10.50 at St. Mary's, $14 at Ft. Defiance, and $15 at Ft. Meigs. Hogs had been delivered on the hoof at St. Mary's at a cost to the army of four cents a pound.[49] While a profit could be made at such prices, Piatt's figures are a proof rather of the costs of transportation in northwestern Ohio than of the contractor's rapacity. The demand for Ohio pork, beef, and flour was so great during the war years that the exports to New Orleans and the driving of cattle and hogs to eastern markets showed a marked decline.

While the war followed its desultory course through 1814, Ohioans were diverted by the strange turn in the careers of two outstanding public servants. In March, Meigs resigned as governor to accept the postmaster-general's office, vacated by Gideon Granger. In November, Worthington was elected to fill Meigs' place. There were many conjectures as to the influences which had brought the office to Meigs. Some asserted that Worthington had arranged the appointment in order to clear the way for his own election to the governorship.[50] Hammond, in his sarcastic way, insisted that he understood the whole thing: "The conduct of our excellent governor, in calling upon, and dragging out the militia of Ohio, without regard to law, or to the comfort and happiness of the citizens, has always seemed inexplicable; but the mystery is now explained. His excellency is to be Post Master Genl." [51] Othniel Looker, speaker of the Senate, succeeded Meigs as governor in March, 1814, serving until the following December.

[48] John McLandburgh to Worthington, Chillicothe, Nov. 25, 1812, Worthington MSS.
[49] *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore, Md.), Nov. 13, 1813.
[50] Kerr to Worthington, Chillicothe, Sept. 21, 1814, Worthington MSS.
[51] *Ohio Federalist,* Mar. 16, 1814.

In August Worthington announced his candidacy. From the outset his election seemed assured, for his principal opponent was Looker, who, although generally recognized as a man of merit, lacked the prestige which Worthington had acquired from years of public service. In the October election Worthington received 15,879 votes to Looker's 6,171. In addition to his home county of Hamilton, Looker carried only Scioto, Franklin, Clermont, and Greene. Worthington's victory is most interesting because at the time of his vote against the declaration of war his political career appeared to be in jeopardy. Several newspapers, particularly those of Cincinnati, revived this issue during the campaign, and when it was pointed out in his defense that he had vigorously supported the Government's war measures, the editors replied that many Federalists had done likewise.[52] Worthington had defended himself both in 1812 and in this campaign by arguing that the country was unprepared for war. The poor showing which the military forces had made in the first two years of the conflict gave irrefutable proof of the soundness of his position. The overwhelming majority which he received in the election may be interpreted as a recognition of his integrity and, to an extent, as a vindication of his hesitancy in entering a war which had turned out rather ingloriously.

Tiffin, Worthington's close friend and brother-in-law, spent the war years in Washington. It will be recalled that for a time he had served as United States Senator. During this period he became an intimate friend of Madison. When, in April, 1812, the office of "Commissioner of Public Lands" was created by Congress, Madison appointed Tiffin to the office. His task in bringing order out of the chaotic records of the public lands was truly stupendous. With the opening of the Thirteenth Congress, in December, 1813, he submitted a report which was highly praised for its thoroughness. This may be considered the first document of the division of the government which was destined to become the Department of the Interior. In August, 1814, when a British attack on Washington

[52] Cincinnati *Western Spy*, Oct. 8, 1814; *Liberty Hall*, Sept. 27, 1814.

was imminent, Tiffin was foresighted enough to remove the public land records to a place of safety in Virginia. Later in the same year Tiffin resigned his position as commissioner of public lands in exchange for the office of surveyor-general of public lands. This position, which Tiffin held until the administration of Andrew Jackson, was much to his liking, since it permitted him to live among his old friends in Chillicothe.

Ohioans in common with Americans generally felt keenly the humiliation of the course which the war took in its latter months. Worthington wrote to McArthur in September, 1814, that the management of the defense of Washington had been far more disgraceful than the public realized.[53] Armstrong was compelled to retire from the cabinet following the burning of Washington, his duties being assumed by James Monroe, secretary of state. Worthington, who never was inclined toward sarcasm, had this comment to make: "What is going on I cannot say for Mr. Monroe seems to have so much to do that I should suppose from my knowledge of the man that he has time to do little or nothing." Affairs at Washington were indeed in a critical condition. Early in November Worthington again summarized the situation for McArthur: "In a word everything is at a stand for want of money and even warrants drawn by the departments on the Treasury have been protested. You have no idea of the state of things which has existed here. Thank God since the appt of a new Secy of the Treasury and the meeting of Congress prospects begin to brighten and a restoration of public credit will I hope soon take place." [54]

On Christmas eve, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was signed. The British sloop of war, *Favorite,* with an American dispatch carrier on board reached New York on the afternoon of February 11, but two days elapsed before the joyful word reached Washington. The news was carried to the Western States by express riders. Chillicothe received the word on February 22, sixty days after the signing

[53] Worthington to McArthur, Washington, Sept. 21, 1814, McArthur MSS., XVI, no. 3039.

[54] *Id.* to *id.,* Washington, Nov. 3, 1814, *ibid.,* XIX, no. 3579.

of the document.[55] The end of the war was so welcome that for a time little attention was given to the terms which the treaty makers had drafted. Editor Charles Hammond, naturally, did not miss the opportunity for criticism. He compared the terms obtained from the British with the alleged causes for the war as given in the President's War Message. The editor of the *Spirit of the West,* a Chillicothe paper generally favorable to the Administration, described the treaty as quite unsatisfactory, when compared with the purposes of the war, but not essentially dishonorable to the Administration or to the people.[56] The United States had shown her willingness to fight for her rights, and her military spirit, dormant since the Revolution, had been resuscitated. He felt that Britain had learned a lesson, and in all probability would never again impress American seamen. He called attention to the value of the lands acquired from the Creeks during the course of the war. He naturally had high praise for Jackson, as did all Ohio patriots, although few could have exceeded the enthusiasm of one Chillicothean who notified the public, "My wife was brought to bed on the 29th day of June, 1815, with a daughter, and I have called her name Ordelly Jackson, after the sir name of Gen. A. Jackson, the noble defender of N. Orleans." [57]

The war period was a turning point in the development of Ohio. Soldiers who had come from the East to participate in the conflict were discharged at Chillicothe in the spring of 1815. Many remained within Ohio to become farmers, or returned to their homes only to urge others to join them in making an exodus to the western country. Within the next few years whole sections of the East became infected with the "Ohio fever." There was much to indicate that the State was entering upon a period of great prosperity.

[55] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Feb. 28, 1815.
[56] *Ibid.,* Mar. 25, 1815.
[57] *Ibid.,* July 18, 1815.

CHAPTER V

Acquiring a Farm

IF THE visitor to Ohio in 1803 could, by some trick of time, have viewed the State from the air he would have seen a forest so dense that he would have believed it impenetrable. He might have marked the streams by the jungle-like growth that lined their banks, and here and there along their courses he might, if his eyes were keen, have detected man-made clearings so minute in comparison with the great forest that they would have seemed almost microscopic. But the arduous work of clearing was well begun and the sky at times must have been white with the smoke of enormous bonfires.

The observations of early travelers and pioneers, together with notes of surveyors, have enabled ingenious ecologists to describe this virgin forest.[1] The various oaks: white, black, red, and burr, were the most widely distributed of the forest types; beech came second, and ash was distinctly third. These three types of timber were so commonly found that it is possible for botanists to describe almost every township in early Ohio as predominantly "oak," "beech," or "ash."

In areas where the oaks predominated, white and black oaks and hickory were most often found together. Burr oaks, frequently scrubby, appeared most frequently in areas which were rather open or prairie-like. Red oaks were encountered usually in combination with beech and sugar-maple. In such areas as the lower Scioto Valley where poplar, cherry, and walnut were quite common, hickory tended to supplant the oaks. Beech and sugar-maple were very often associated, with a sprinkling of white ash and red oak,

[1] P. B. Sears, "Natural Vegetation of Ohio," *Ohio Journal of Science* (Columbus), XXV (1925), 139ff.; XXVI (1926), 131ff.

as a rule. In old upland flats and in thin-soiled, or "scalded," beech land, the sugar-maple was usually absent. White and black ash were commonly intermingled, with elm and soft maple as associated timber. Oak, unmixed with beech and ash, was found in both glaciated and unglaciated areas. Unmixed beech, on the other hand, was confined to the glaciated section, while unmixed ash was found only in the Erie Plain.

There is danger here of oversimplification, for Ohio forests were seldom homogeneous. Well over a hundred species of trees could be found within the State, and of shrubs there was an infinite variety.[2] If the oak-beech-ash combination may be taken as typical of the whole State, other species may be thought of as intrusions from the areas in which they, in turn, were predominant. Species from the west, ironwood, linden, and cottonwood, for example, were to be found in the Erie Plain, which here lies open to invaders from Indiana and Illinois. The southwestern corner of the State abounded in such species as the buckeye, black walnut, hackberry, and sycamore, types from the lower Ohio and the Mississippi valleys. Southeastern and southern species, such as the chestnut, pitch pine, scrub pine, tulip, gum, and cherry, were found most plentifully on the unglaciated southeastern section. Hemlock, white pine, and other evergreens, which invaded the State from the northeast, were most abundant in the sheltered north-facing ravines which open toward Lake Erie.

The pioneer farmer, through intimate acquaintance, became expert in his knowledge of the timber. He came to associate certain trees with types of soil, and his conclusions, whether accurate or not, were passed on to the "newcomer," who frequently accepted them as gospel truth. In an article entitled, "Of the Scioto Country," the editor of the *Western Intelligencer* (Worthington, Ohio) summarized much of this lore:

"The white oak & bitter hickory timber, are considered as an invariable indication of a thin soil, usually bottomed on sand or

[2] W. B. Werthner, *Some American Trees, an Intimate Study of Native Ohio Trees* (New York, 1935), Introduction.

loose gravel, and soon fails, without good management in cultivation; in the parts where the white oak is mixed with the other kinds of oak, shell-bark hickory, poplar, &c. the soil is much better, being generally rich and durable. The black walnut, blue ash and red elm, are always considered as evidences of a *rich* soil, but not as *sure* indications of *great depth* or *durability*: the spice undergrowth is always taken as certain evidence of a warm soil, and generally very productive of almost all kinds of crops. The bottom lands in this and all other parts of the Scioto country, are timbered with hackberry, buckeye, black walnut, butternut, honey locust, box elder, the pawpaw or custard apple-tree, crab apple-tree, hawthorn, meadow plum-tree, and spice bush. In the very level and wet parts of the country, there is much soft maple and white elm—and immediately along the banks of the rivers and creeks, the timber is almost wholly of the button ball kind, usually called in this country sycamore." [3]

There were many openings in the virgin forest, and here again the botanists have made it possible to visualize the situation as the pioneer found it. The word "prairie" was used by them to describe any treeless area, usually grassy, and sometimes covered with brush or low shrubs. It might be wet or dry, a bog or marsh, even swampy, or it might be an opening in the oak forest. Fifteen hundred square miles, approximately one twenty-fifth of the State, is a rough estimate of the naturally treeless area, but so large a proportion of this lay within the northwest quarter of the State, with which the earlier settlers were unacquainted, that their estimates would have been much lower.[4] There were no prairies in the unglaciated section of the State, but they occurred all along the Ohio-Erie Divide, in groups rather than at random. The fact that the groups north of the divide lay in a series of curves led experts to conclude that there was a relationship between the prairies and the glacial moraines. By far the greater number of prairies seem to have developed on the sites of ancient lakes or regions of seasonal ponding.

[3] Sept. 11, 1811.
[4] Sears, "Vegetation of Ohio," XXVI, 132.

The early settler was more interested in the agricultural possibilities of the prairies than in explanations of their origin. The Worthington editor quoted above made observations on the prairies of his neighborhood:

"There are in this part of the Scioto country frequent openings and prairies, both wet and dry, containing hundreds and in many places even thousands of acres together, only timbered with a few scrubby oaks, thinly scattered over this extensive region. In some places, however, may be seen extensive plains and wet prairies all clear of timber, except here and there a small forest of lofty trees standing like an island in a lake or sea. The prairies and plains are most extensive on the head waters of Salt creek, the northern branches of Paint creek and upon Deer and Darby creeks; but extend also, and are branched out in many parts near the Scioto, from the termination of the hills to the distance of about 85 miles from the Ohio. The Pickaway and Walnut plains exhibit a very rich and handsome prospect for fertile country. The other parts of this section of the country, in which the prairies are frequent, are either moderately variegated with hills and dales, or very level and rich, but rather wet and slashey ground. In this part of the district, is much first rate land, producing amongst other articles of produce immense quantities of corn, hemp, flax, wheat, rye, and oats; also the most unbounded extent of wild, but rich pasture for cattle which are here raised in such numbers as would be almost incredible, could we tell them." [5]

The most famous farming land in all Ohio may well have been the Pickaway Plains, to which the editor alluded. Timothy Flint, whose travel account is of much interest and value, recorded his impressions of this great prairie: "The clear part is a prairie, entirely destitute of trees, and is about seven miles long and five broad. To a European, who has been upwards of two years immersed in the woods, such a clear space is truly exhilarating. . . . The soil is of a dark colored earth, apparently mixed with a large proportion of vegetable matter, and lies on a gravelly subsoil. When extremely

[5] Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer,* Sept. 11, 1811.

rich lands are spoken of in this part of the country they are apt to be compared with Pickaway." [6]

It has often been observed that the early farmers of the West avoided treeless areas, and the explanation is given that they were suspicious of soil that would not produce trees. Other factors were possibly more important: wood and water were accessible in the timber-lands, and the prairie sod was too tough for plows with wooden mold-boards. When steel plows and driven wells became common the conquest of prairie country was a simple matter. The wet prairies, it was commonly held, bred the "miasmas" which induced the cursed malaria and ague; it was better to locate the home in the well-drained timber. The early Ohioan seldom had the choice to make. His farm had to be hewn out of the woods, and he was content in the thought that the farm would be free from stumps by the time his boys were ready to "take over."

Emigrants to Ohio usually had rather definite ideas as to the locality in which they wished to settle. The typical story, told so many times, is of the two or three men who, like Caleb and Joshua, came to "spy out the land" and bring a report to those at home who were ready to make the great venture. Soldiers returning from the Indian campaigns or the War of 1812, brought impressions based on leisurely observation, and as the years went by there was no lack of published information and advice both in newspapers and in the form of "emigrant guides." The settler usually knew well enough what he wanted to do, but in countless instances was compelled to make new decisions when he reached the new country. So much was true of the orderly migrant, but it disregards the "squatters," the ne'er-do-wells, or the adventurous spirits, who drifted in great numbers to the West in the hope, no doubt, of bettering their fortunes, but with hazy ideas as to how it was to be done.

Many factors besides the quality of soil entered into the pioneer's choice of his new home. He might wish to locate in the

[6] ~~Timothy~~ Flint, *Letters from America* . . . (Edinburgh, 1822), in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), IX, 303.

neighborhood of old friends, he probably would be attracted toward settlements which were showing signs of prosperity, but most important of all, he must take into account the state of his finances and choose the section where he could accomplish the most with his resources. The accompanying map of Ohio's land divisions is somewhat complicated, but when one considers the difficulty of reading a map while tramping through an unmarked forest, and the fact that the systems of survey and the terms of purchase varied from district to district, one must sympathize with the "newcomer" in his confusion.

The State of Ohio at the time of her admission did not own an acre of land in fee simple. Carved out of the national domain, one of the stipulations at the time of her entrance into the Union was that all lands not previously sold or granted should continue to be the property of the United States. Virtually all lands subsequently sold by the State, notably the school lands, came as donations from the National Government. The various sales and grants have been described in the volume which precedes this, but it may be well to view the situation which confronted the expectant settler who came to Ohio in the first decade of the century.[7]

Certain emigrants came with claims which gave them preferred treatment. The Virginia Military District had been reserved by agreement between that state and Congress to satisfy the land warrants with which Virginia had compensated her Revolutionary veterans. The National Government was also rewarding soldiers with land grants, and a considerable section known as the United States Military District had been set aside for this purpose. Certain Canadians who had suffered loss because of sympathy for the American cause during the war were granted land within the strip known as the Refugee Tract.[8] A half-million acres, the so-

[7] William Peters, *Ohio Lands and Their History* (Athens, 1930); C. E. Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions,* Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, *Final Report* (Columbus, 1925), III.

[8] E. L. Taylor, "Refugees to and from Canada and the Refugee Tract," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XII, 219ff.; Carl Wittke, "Canadian Refugees in the American Revolution," *Canadian Historical Review* (Toronto), III (1922), 320-33.



MAP 4. LAND SUBDIVISIONS

From *A Short History [of] Ohio Land Grants,* issued by Ohio Auditor of State Joseph T. Ferguson and Deputy State Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands Raymond J. Bartholomew ([Columbus, 1941]), p. [6].

called "Firelands," on the western end of the Connecticut Reserve were set aside for the benefit of certain citizens of that State who had suffered when her coast was ravaged during the war.[9]

[9] H. M. Carpenter, "Origin and Location of the Firelands of the Western Reserve," *ibid.,* XLIV (1935), 163-203.

The Firelands seem to have served their intended purpose. The names and amounts due to each of more than 1800 sufferers were printed in the Ohio Land Laws of 1825; and Connecticut had wisely required that the deed of the land given to each claimant should be recorded in the town in which he suffered the damage. The Refugee Tract also seems to have met the purpose for which it was created. Some sixty-seven claimants, having proved their case, were granted lands totalling 58,080 acres. Since these claims covered little more than half of the land which had been set aside, the residue was sold in the regular fashion by the Chillicothe land-office after April, 1816. Several claimants appeared after that date and were permitted to locate on the public lands.

The military grants, on the other hand, benefited speculators rather than veterans. The Act of 1796, which had set up the United States Military District, provided originally that a quarter-township, 4,000 acres, was the minimum amount for which a patent would be issued. This offered little opportunity for the private soldier, who held a warrant for only one hundred acres. Warrants were sold in the East at ridiculously low prices to speculators or their agents. Dr. W. T. Hutchinson, who has made a thorough survey of the history of the Bounty Lands in Ohio, estimates that 70% of the land in the district came into the hands of 115 speculators.[10] Jonathan Dayton was the most energetic of these, managing in one way or another to obtain title to more than 64,000 acres. An Act of March 1, 1800, provided for the subdivision of 200,000 acres within the district into 100-acre lots, with the stipulation that these lands would be granted to the original holders of warrants. After March, 1803, lands within the district not covered by patents were turned over to the General Land-office for administration. Locations under warrants continued until the 1830's.

The speculators within the Virginia Military District were unequalled in their rapacity. Many of these land-grabbers achieved distinguished positions in the history of the young State, but it is

[10] William T. Hutchinson, "Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio," 1927, MS. (in University of Chicago Library), doctoral dissertation.

fair to say that while they were "on the make," to use an expression of the time, they were as often notorious as notable. It is true, however, that Virginians did make up the largest element within the population, and that many small landholders came into possession of property through original warrants. But if they came as late as 1803 they found that the rich bottom-lands, the mill sites, and the land in the vicinity of the centers of settlement, were in the hands of a small group of speculators who were willing to sell, but at their own price. This was the district of unregulated surveys and the ingenuity of the early locaters in getting the most out of their warrants led to the most fantastic land-plats that were ever recorded in a land-office. It is entirely probable that the settlement of this district, one of the richest in Ohio, was retarded through speculative ownership.



A RICH FARM FOR SALE.

A GOOD BARGAIN will be given of 66 2-3 acres of land, 40 of which are cleared, fituate about 7 miles from Cincinnati on Duck creek—a number of bearing apple trees, a good fpring, and feveral cabbins thereon. It is an excellent ſeat for a tanner or diſtiller. For particulars apply to the Editor of this paper.

Auguſt 4.

12. FARM FOR SALE

From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 11, 1806.

Those who came to Ohio with money rather than warrants had no lack of opportunities for investment. In the Connecticut Reserve, in the Ohio Company's Purchase, and in the land between the Miamis, there were representatives of land companies or individuals more than willing to aid the emigrant in his search for a farm. Loud complaints were raised in these areas against the five-year exemption from taxes which had been granted to the purchasers of Government lands. Rufus Putnam of Marietta was particularly bitter, feeling sorry for himself and other "poor Devils" who had purchased land from the Government prior to 1803 and now found themselves the sole taxpayers in the State.[11] But so far

[11] Rufus Putnam to John May, Marietta, Aug. 10, 1810, in Western Reserve Historical Society, *Publication* (Cleveland), no. 97 (1917), 187.

as the Ohio Company is concerned, the plain fact is that their lands were not so attractive to prospective farmers as lands farther to the west.

The real interest of the "newcomer" was in the so-called Congress Lands, and the Land Act of 1800 laid the true foundation for the settlement of the State. Four land-offices were provided for by the Act, at Steubenville, Marietta, Chillicothe, and Cincinnati. In 1803 Zanesville was added to the four, and after a time Canton became the center of a land district, although it may be noted that after the War of 1812 the lands were sold at Wooster rather than at Canton. When the Indian titles were obtained for lands in the northwestern quarter of the State, offices were created at Piqua and Tiffin.

The procedure under the Act of 1800 was easily understood. If an individual wished to buy Government land east of the Muskingum, he must be prepared to pay or contract for 640 acres or more.[12] West of the river alternate sections were divided into half-sections of 320 acres. The law provided that sales should be opened by a public auction lasting for three weeks with two dollars as the minimum price per acre. After this sale was closed, the unpurchased lands were open for private sale at the minimum price. Dates for the auctions at the various land-offices were so arranged that one might attend them all in succession without inconvenience. If the purchaser paid cash he was entitled to an eight per cent. discount, whereas if he contracted to pay within the four years permitted under the Act, he was charged six per cent. on unpaid balances. It has been estimated that the difference between the two methods of purchase would be almost one hundred and forty dollars on a half-section.

The Act of 1800, liberal as it was in comparison with earlier legislation, was not designed for the poor man. One needed at least $160.00 before undertaking the purchase of a farm. The require-

[12] U. S. Laws, Statutes, etc., *Laws of the United States of a Local or Temporary Character, and Exhibiting the Entire Legislation of Congress upon which Public Land Titles in Each State and Territory Have Depended* (Washington, D. C., 1884); U. S. Congress, *Miscellaneous Documents,* 47 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 45, pt. 2.

ments were lowered by the Act of March 26, 1804, which provided a minimum unit of a quarter-section in both auction and private sales in all congressional lands. The liberality of this act indicates a new attitude on the part of Congress. Instead of viewing the public domain simply as a source of revenue, the interest of the settlers became a prime consideration. There was little likelihood that the thousands of potential voters who entered into the new lands would permit the Government to return to a more conservative plan.

Some generalizations in regard to the business of the land-offices are made possible by a study of the fairly reliable statistics which are given in tabulated form at the end of this chapter. These figures do not include sales in the offices of Piqua, Delaware, and Tiffin where lands in northwestern Ohio were offered for sale after the final settlement of the Indian claims in 1818. Over eleven million acres were offered by the six offices after previous sales and grants were subtracted. One-third of this princely domain was sold by 1812, more than half had been disposed of by 1817, and only a third remained unsold in 1821. During the five years from 1812 to 1817 almost three million acres, a quarter of the total, were sold to those who came to Ohio in the "Great Migration." Steubenville, Cincinnati, and Wooster sold over three-fourths of their holdings by 1821; Zanesville sold 54 per cent., Chillicothe 46 per cent. and Marietta 16 per cent. The total sale to 1821 of more than seven million acres may be more easily comprehended if one thinks of 46,000 farm homes of 160 acres. One should hear the creak of incoming wagons, for the land-offices conducted their business to the accompaniment of that music.

Considerably less than half of the area of Ohio was included in the "Congress Lands," and within these tracts large acreages were purchased by easterners who held them for a rise in price. The "newcomer" frequently had to deal with such speculators or their representatives. He was often able to bargain directly with the owner, but throughout the early history of the State non-resident ownership was a constant source of irritation. A traveler who

walked along the road from Chillicothe to Bainbridge in 1809 noticed that although there were many settlers in the region their farms were generally at some distance from the road. On asking for an explanation he was told that the lands along the road "belong to wealthy proprietors who either hold them at a very high price, or will not divide them into convenient farms." [13]

It is rather difficult to make an estimate of the amount of land held by absentee proprietors due to the fact that the available statistics are based on tax-lists. Since lands purchased of the Government would not be listed for a period of five years, there is no way of taking current purchases into account. If the reader will keep this discrepancy in mind certain generalizations may be offered on the basis of a study of the annual reports of the State treasurer.[14] In the year 1809 non-resident owners were charged with taxes on 6,355,201 acres, while residents paid taxes on 3,568,832. Since taxes were assessed on the basis of the quality of soil the fact that the taxes for the two acreages were $40,966 and $23,025, respectively, indicates that in the eyes of the assessor the residents and non-residents held lands of about equal fertility. The figures for the year 1810 indicate that the resident holdings had increased by a half-million acres, while those of the absentees increased by less than twenty thousand. Five years later, in 1815, a notable change is discernible. Residents were now taxed on 5,837,494 acres, while non-residents had 5,252,819 acres on the tax-list. In that year a careful assessment was made for the apportionment among the counties of the direct tax which the National Government had levied for the prosecution of the war. The analysis was printed, county by county, in the Zanesville (Ohio) *Express,* February 1, 1816. While the State tax was normally levied only on the land and its estimated productiveness, this assessment included also the estimated value of buildings and improvements. In a total valuation of slightly more than sixty-one million dollars, the estimated value

[13] Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1810), in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* IV, 221.

[14] The reports of the State treasurer, according to law, were appended to the printed *Acts* of the General Assembly.



MAP 5. OHIO COUNTIES, 1816

After R. C. Downes, "Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), vol. XXXVI (1927), p. 391.

of non-resident property was twelve million, or roughly one-fifth. The value of non-resident holdings exceeded that of the residents in only eight counties: Delaware, Licking, Athens, Geauga, Cuyahoga, Huron, Portage, and Medina.

One may conclude that residents came to own more land than did the absentees some time before 1815, and that the value of

their holdings was easily four times as great in that year. A study of the rating of the resident and non-resident lands on the basis of fertility over this same period, 1809–16, shows that the better lands came rapidly into the hands of the residents and that by the latter date the great bulk of non-resident acreages were third-rate.

Absentee owners were faced with many difficulties in the management of their distant possessions. Reference has already been made to the early tax law which required residents and non-residents alike to pay taxes in the township where their property was located. When this was changed to a district system it was obviously much more equitable, but the slowness of communication made even this method hazardous in view of the heavy penalties for non-payment. Reliable agents were commonly employed to take care of the interests of the eastern owners. An advertisement which appeared in the *Supporter* (Chillicothe) January 26, 1809, indicated the nature of such connections:

"To Non-Residents, proprietors of Lands within the State of Ohio

"C. Wallace and R. Kercheval, AGENTS for non-residents holding lands within said state, take this method of informing them that they transact business for non-residents, in the town of Chillicothe; which business is, attending to the payment of taxes, locating, dividing and selling lands, also to redeeming lands which have been sold for taxes, and any other business which they may be enabled to transact. Their situation being such as to enable them to ascertain the precise situation of all lands within the state, they therefore flatter themselves that they will be enabled to render entire satisfaction to all who may think proper to entrust them with the management of their business.

"For the satisfaction of those who have not an acquaintance with the subscribers, they have procured a recommendatory letter from the following gentlemen, viz. Generals Thomas Worthington, Duncan M'Arthur, and Nathaniel Massie and Henry Massie, esq. which is hereunto subjoined.

"Any letter on the above business, postage paid, will be punctually attended to.

"CADWALLADER WALLACE,
"ROBERT KERCHEVAL.

"CHILLICOTHE, OHIO, Jan. 19, 1809.

"P. S. Non-resident's business will also be attended to in the state of Kentucky."

In a study of the acquisition of land in Ohio one should not disregard the thousands who came to the new country with neither purse nor scrip. Nor should one assume that all squatters were so by preference nor that they remained always in the class of ne'er-do-wells. A noteworthy family of Harrison County arrived as squatters, the wife, with babe in arms, riding the family cow. The father "as was the custom" was permitted to crop all the lands he could clear in order to give him a start.[15] In prosperous times there was an insatiable demand for laborers, and pay could often be had in land rather than money. A daughter of one of the early settlers of Steubenville told how her father had paid Bezaleel Wells for land in sugar, molasses, and other farm products.[16]

Farm produce was often thus accepted as part of the purchase price. A foot-note on the Burr tragedy as well as to this barter system is found in the following advertisement inserted by the agent of Senator John Smith, who owned a large tract of land in the Miami country and had left the State after the Burr affair:

"FIFTY THOUSAND acres of Land for sale, improved and unimproved, between the Miamies, and between Madriver and the Great Miami. A credit will be given for the greatest part of the purchase money. Flour, whiskey, pork, beef, wheat, rye, corn, iron, nails, and castings will be received in payment at market price. For further information, apply to A. D. Smith, at Cincinnati,

[15] W. H. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson County," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, VIII (1900), 151.
[16] *Ibid.*, 137.

or the subscriber at Staunton, on the Great Miami, by whom the lands will be shewn.

"Agent for JOHN SMITH,
"FIELDING LOWRY

"CINCINNATI, Feb. 9, 1807." [17]

When times were hard hundreds of farmers who purchased their farms on credit were forced to give up their contracts and move to new scenes of endeavor, where they may well have appeared to be squatters. A letter in the correspondence of Samuel Huntington gives a good picture of the troubles of such an unfortunate:

"SIR:

"I take this opportunity to Inform you that I have heard by a letter from Charles that you are desirous of taking the land away from us for Fear that you should never get your pay for it.

"Sir if you can not and will not weight Any longer on us we will be up to our agreement with you according as we agreed.

"Sir Pay us for the betterments as you agree to do Sir you may take the Land agane I should be glad to keep it if I could but if you are crowded for the pay and cant wait on us any longer we will give up our possession by your paying us for the betterment and not untill that Sir I am with the greatest Esteem you most Obedien

"L. WHITE

"BUFFALOE 2d June 1808
"HONOU SAMUEL HUNTINGTION ESQR." [18]

If one's sympathy is aroused for such unfortunates as the writer of this letter, it may well be extended to others equally distressed who, having contracted for a farm in good faith, discovered, possibly after the expenditure of much money and labor, that the title to the land was imperfect, and that the true owner was on the point of instituting a suit to obtain possession. The courts naturally endeavored to settle such actions by compromises which

[17] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Mercury*, Nov. 17, 1807.
[18] Huntington MSS. (in Ohio State Library).

gave proper weight to the improvements which the farmer had made. The General Assembly sought to standardize the handling of such disputes by statutes which, although frequently revised, were fairly uniform in outline. When an adverse claim was established as valid against a piece of property already occupied it was made unlawful to evict the occupying claimant until he was paid in full for all "lasting and valuable improvements." In case the two parties could not agree in their estimate of the value of such improvements, either of them might ask the court to appoint three "judicious and disinterested" parties who would make an estimate and submit it in writing to the court. Deductions were permitted for the wasteful use of the property. The successful claimant might also sell the property to the farmer who had occupied it, in which case the price would be that of the land as if unimproved.

The principal reason for disputes over land titles was the inaccurate measurement or description of land on the part of the early surveyors. No state displays a greater variety of surveying methods than does Ohio; it was the proving ground for the varied modifications of the rectangular system, and within the Virginia Military District the so-called "indiscriminate survey" reached its ultimate absurdity, although Kentucky might lodge a counter-claim for this doubtful distinction.[19] In the nature of its surveys, as in so many other respects, Ohio was the meeting-place of East and West. To the East was the area of systemless land location, to the West the sometimes monotonous checker-board extending to the Pacific. The First Principal Meridian, which runs due north from the mouth of the Miami, is Ohio's western boundary.

The rectangular survey, so far as it applied to Ohio, included both five- and six-mile townships. The former are to be found in the Western Reserve and the United States Military District. The numbering system for the townships and within the sections varies from survey to survey. East of the Scioto, for example, the Ohio River serves as a base line, and since townships are numbered start-

[19] Sherman, *Original Land Subdivisions,* 20ff.

ing with the river, some confusion results. The surveys south of the Greenville Line failed to make corrections for the convexity of the earth and errors resulted, to the annoyance of those who came later. Although the early rectangular surveys were far from perfect, their superiority over other systems was very great indeed. "The Southwest quarter of the Northeast quarter of Section 22 Township four Range five of the Old Seven Ranges" designates a tract of forty acres in Monroe County so accurately that it could not be confused with any other in the State or Nation. In contrast one may quote from a patent to a simple four-sided tract of 400 acres which is printed in full by C. E. Sherman: "On the waters of the Rocky Fork of Paint Creek, Beginning at Two Sugar Trees and a poplar South seventy Degrees West two hundred poles from two Beeches, and a black Oak northwesterly corner of Benjamin Wynkoop's survey No. 3019, running North twenty Degrees East two hundred and sixty poles crossing a Branch at forty and one at eighty six poles to three Sassafrass, thence North twenty Degrees West one hundred and sixty poles crossing a Branch at sixteen poles to the Beginning." [20]

When boundaries were marked by such impermanent monuments as sassafras trees there is small wonder that conflicting land claims clogged the courts and that lawyers found a good hunting ground in the Virginia Military District. More litigation arose over land titles within this area than in all the rest of the State together. Not the least contribution of the pioneers to the stability of the present State of Ohio was the clarification of the titles to their lands, accomplished often at a great cost in money and patience. It has been said that a map is a condensed history; much of Ohio's early history becomes more real from the careful study of such a map as that prepared by C. E. Sherman to accompany his monumental summary of the topographic survey of the State. Even the casual traveler who crosses the State in an easy day's drive must notice the contrast between the farms to the west of the Scioto, where the fence corners are at irregular angles, and the measured

[20] *Ibid.*, 23.

primness of the lands in the northern sections. He might mark the regular recurrence of the township roads in the latter area and comment on the permanent effect of the New England immigration, not knowing that explanations lie even more deeply imbedded in the early history of the State.

The "newcomer," having arranged for the purchase of his farm and having located its metes and bounds in the midst of the great forest, girded himself for the herculean task of hewing out a farm. If he were fortunate enough to arrive at his new home in the late winter he might clear enough land to make something of a crop the first year. The immediate problem was that of shelter. If the planting season were near and every effort must therefore be put into the task of clearing, one might be fortunate enough to find a vacant cabin, although in the earlier years these could not have been numerous. The pioneer was necessarily a master of improvisation, and one reads of "half-faced camps" constructed against a sheltering hillside or even of homes in hollow sycamore trees which were occasionally prodigious in size. The provident head of a family would not be satisfied with such makeshifts, and the more usual story is of the friendly neighbors joining with him in the construction of a log cabin.[21]

By the time log cabins made their appearance in the forests of Ohio, their form and even the method of putting them up had long been a tradition. Shelters similar in form must have been constructed by the Romans in the early years of their occupation of southern Germany, even as at the present time one might find log cabins in the process of erection in Siberia or Alaska. Reasonably intelligent men, armed with axes, if confronted with the problem of erecting a fairly permanent shelter in a timbered region would almost inevitably have arrived at something like the standard procedure. It was a matter of wonder to Europeans, who were unaccustomed to pioneer ways and means, that the cabins should

[21] Thomas Rogers, Sr., "Reminisicences of a Pioneer," ed. by Clement Martzolff, *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XIX (1910), 217; C. B. Squier in Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* . . . (Cincinnati, 1847), 151.

have been so much alike and above all that they should have been so crude and "sorry" in appearance. François André Michaux, the able Frenchman, visited a number of cabins on the banks of the Ohio River in 1802. He was struck by the incongruity between the crude log huts and the magnificent views of the great river which one might enjoy from their unglazed windows.[22] He goes on to remark that the smallness of the cabins might lead one to suppose that they were erected in a land of scanty rather than superabundant timber. He seems to have suspected lack of initiative or imagination on the part of the builders, for if two men could erect a cabin in three days, he felt that a little more time might have been expended profitably. Michaux probably did not fully realize that the first cabins were built by men who were in a great hurry; the farm homes of twenty years later would have shown him that there was not a complete lack of vision.

The erection of a cabin was too great a task for a family that was "weak handed." All but the earliest settlers or those whose lands were far removed from the closest neighbors had an abundance of help, for a "house raising" was one of the commonest occasions for neighborliness in the life of the frontiersman. The building of the cabin has been described so frequently in the accounts of travelers and especially in the reminiscences of the pioneers that the story becomes almost trite to the student of the period. Before the big day there were many things for the new settler to do. He must first choose the site for his home and clear the ground. Next he would select the straight trees of uniform size to form the walls, and these, of course, must be cut to the proper length and "snaked" to the clearing. Before the day arrived he must lay in a good supply of whiskey, for although the neighbors would neither ask nor accept pay for their work, they most certainly would take for granted that the host would have an abundance of the "critter" on hand.

[22] F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessea* . . . (London, 1805), in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, III, 190.

When the day arrived and the men of the neighborhood had collected, a general overseer was chosen who divided the men into groups and assigned them to various duties. Four men, the most skillful with their axes, were each given responsibility for a corner of the structure. It was their duty to cut the "notches and saddles" which formed the rough dovetail joints. This called for some skill and a good eye, for they must preserve the plumb as they "carried up" their respective corners. There were also "end men" who fixed the skids in place and rolled the logs up as they were needed. When the walls had reached the proper height, the end logs were successively shortened to receive the lighter logs which were to support the roof. The roof itself was laid with "clapboards" which had been rived, broad and thin, from selected blocks of straight-grained white oak. If nails were available, and they usually were not in the earlier years, the roofing was fairly simple. Lacking nails the successive courses of clapboards were kept in place by "weight-poles," which doubtless held the roof intact in all save the hardest winds, but at the same time must have hindered drainage. In this fashion the shell of the cabin could be easily completed in a single day.[23]

A huge opening was left at one end for the fireplace and the hearth of flat stones or clay was laid. The construction of the chimney was an art in itself and at best the chimney was a fire hazard. It was constructed usually of sticks liberally plastered with clay mortar. Clay tempered with straw was used also for "chinking" the cracks between the logs. Clay floors, beaten hard, were also common, although it was more usual to lay a floor of "puncheons," split logs of white oak or ash smoothed and roughly fitted with the ax and adze.

These simple cabins could be modified endlessly: a loft might easily be arranged under the roof, or a double cabin could be constructed by building two single cabins under a common roof with a gangway or "dog-trot" between the two. In the more primitive cabins the logs were left "in the round" but when time per-

[23] H. B. Curtis, "Pioneer Days in Central Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, I (1887), 242.

mitted they were square-hewn with carefully dressed corners, or at times the logs were "scutched," that is superficially hewn, after the cabin was built. Windows were "glazed" with oiled papers and even after glass became available it was not rapidly brought into use because of its cost. A story is told of a pioneer named Heyl who settled in the vicinity of Lancaster in 1807 and seemed to be making friends, when he felt that his neighbors had suddenly turned against him. After considerable inquiry he learned that they were saying that the Heyls "had stuck themselves up with glass" although they were not better than anybody else. Heyl had substituted two panes of eight-by-ten-inch glass for the customary oiled paper![24]

The building tools of the pioneer were few and simple. First in importance was the ax with modifications in the form of a broadax and adze. The latter was a square ax-bit mounted at right angles to the end of the handle; in appearance it was more like a shortened hoe than an ax. If the blade was sharp and the workman skillful, it could be used very effectively in smoothing off the puncheon floors or in squaring logs. One other tool was part of almost every pioneer's equipment. This was an auger of fair size, with a heavy handle mounted in T fashion. The usefulness of the auger is immediately evident when one thinks of the problem of furniture, for with its aid legs could be mounted on nicely finished puncheons for tables and benches and even a bedstead was within the limits of possibility. With axes and augers many a cabin was built and furnished; saws and planes came later.

The initial steps in clearing a farm was a matter of long and arduous labor with the ax, but the stumps remained for years to try the plowman's temper.[25] If the family was "weak-handed" the trees were commonly girdled in order that the sun might shine through the deadened foliage. By permitting the tree to dry for a year or two it would burn the more readily when finally cut down.

[24] A. A. Graham, comp., *History of Fairfield and Perry Counties* (Chicago, 1883), pt. III, p. 58.

[25] John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811 . . .* , in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* V, 282.

When there was more than one axman in the family the trees were usually felled and trimmed, the brush burned and the logs rolled, with the aid of the neighbors, into huge piles for burning. The word "log-rolling" had a most honorable origin in spite of its later connotation. A third method of clearing land, known as "slashing" must have been most spectacular. On a day when the wind was right the "slasher" would make careful observation of the timber which he wished to clear and begin by making a considerable cut on the side of each tree in the area. He then selected the tree that would start the destruction and this tree as it fell would start the next one falling and so on till the whole area became a tangled mass of trunks and limbs. A skillful man could level the trees in a whole acre in the course of a day, but no one has bothered to record how long it would take to clear the tangle that resulted.

Two first-hand accounts of land clearing may add perspective to the picture. Ephraim Cutler and two associates reached their land on the Muskingum on May 7, 1799, and immediately erected a cabin: "We set ourselves to prepare a piece of ground for planting. The timber was large, principally beech and sugar trees, all of which we cut down and piled, and burned the most of it. Four acres were cleared ready to plant by the fifteenth of June, and we planted it on the sixteenth. From this patch of ground I raised that year one hundred and fifty bushels of corn that ripened well. I had a fine lot of swine, twenty head of cattle, and two horses. The crop was sufficient to keep my stock, the winter being mild; and to fatten a good lot of pork. The forest, however, was a great help, for the supply of nuts and acorns was inexhaustible." [26]

Thomas Rogers, a pioneer of different type, although possibly even more energetic, tells of his struggle with the timber along Paint Creek: "Now the next thing on hands was to gather up our effects [he had just acquired a wife] and move to our cabin in the woods, and make ready for a crop, and this in a heavy forest of timber, and now the 18th of March! 'Well,' thinks I, 'it is root, pig, or starve. I have but two months till the corn must be planted.'

[26] J. P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1890), 40.

So I fell to work, as I had no other shift, and worked almost night and day, and on the 22nd of May I planted five acres of corn and made a pretty fair crop. Also some potatoes and fruit trees. This was my first Start in life for myself, but I was blessed with a good constitution and a will to work, so it did not go hard with me, as I was raised to hardships." [27]

The pioneer farmer has often been reproached by those who came later for his ruthless destruction of the forests. One may sincerely regret the disappearance of the magnificent walnut, cherry, and maple timber, the like of which will never be seen again, but good farming practise compelled it. It would have been a far-sighted statesman, indeed, who would have advocated timber conservation in the early 1800's. That the pioneers were not unappreciative of the usefulness and beauty of the hardwoods is amply attested by their later furniture and houses. The timber was not completely wasted, for large amounts of the better cabinet woods were exported by way of the Ohio River and the recovery of potash from wood ashes was for many years a thriving industry, as will be described in a later chapter.

Judged by modern standards, the life on an Ohio farm in any of the early decades was one of extreme privation. It is sometimes amusing, therefore, to read the accounts written in the 'forties and 'fifties in which elderly pioneers contrast the hardships of their youth with the character-destroying luxuries of the times. Their thoughts often turned to the food which was to be had during the first years on the new farm.[28] Of meat there was an abundance, and one reads of delicious venison steaks broiled with a strip of bacon over a bed of coals. Mush and milk, hominy and bacon, corn bread and honey, this was standard fare, and good enough for anyone in the opinion of the elderly narrators. One old gentleman becomes eloquent upon the subject of scraped turnips. "I have always been partial to scraped turnips," he wrote in 1843, "and could now beat any three dandies at scraping them!" [29]

[27] Rogers, "Reminiscences," 220.
[28] Felix Renick, in *American Pioneer* (Chillicothe, O., 1842-43), I (1842), 273.
[29] "Our Cabin; or, Life in the Woods," *ibid.*, II (1843), 451.

The diet of the first settlers was heavy with proteins and weak in starch, the reverse of the poverty stricken of our times. The problem of breadstuffs was acute only for the first year or two in a new settlement, but there was scarcely a family that did not at times gauge the height of the meal sack with some anxiety. The turnip enthusiast who is mentioned above tells of one method of making the meal go farther: "To save meal we often made pumpkin bread, in which, when meal was scarce, the pumpkin would so predominate as to render it next to impossible to tell our bread from that article, either by taste, looks, or the amount of nutriment it contained. To rise from the table with a good appetite is said to be healthy, and with some is said to be fashionable. What then does it signify to be hungry for a month at a time, when it is not only healthy but fashionable! Besides all this, the sight of a bag of meal, when it was scarce, made the family feel more glad and thankful to heaven then, than a whole boatload would at the present time." [30]

In the years before the coming of the itinerant peddlars of pots and pans or before there was money to buy their wares if they had come, the housewife was more often plagued by the lack of equipment than scarcity of food. There was no substitute for an iron kettle and it was made to serve many purposes. An early settler in Erie County tells how a group of women came to call on a new neighbor. This lady was most hospitable and wished to serve her guests with tea and cakes. She had only one cooking vessel, a covered iron pot slightly cracked, but her ingenuity was equal to the emergency. First she "tried" some pork to get melted lard, and with this she mixed some cakes which she baked in the pot. next she scoured the vessel and using it to dip water from the spring she soon had water boiling for the tea, keeping up a running conversation all the while. No apologies would have been thought necessary, for her neighbors' kitchens were probably not much better equipped.[31]

[30] *Ibid.*, 452.
[31] Squier, in Howe, *Historical Collections,* 152.

The present chapter has had as its theme the acquisition of a frontier farm and problems which confronted the settlers during the first arduous year. The chapter which follows will discuss in detail the development of agriculture in the early history of the State, with emphasis on the building of self-sufficient farm communities and the search for a market where cash could be had for the surplus which the farmer had to sell.

TABLE 2. LANDS SOLD BY OHIO LAND-OFFICES TO THE YEAR 1821.[32]

	For Sale	*To 1812*	*1812-17*	*1817-21*	*Total Sold*	*% Sold*
Steubenville	1,891,600	977,530	418,904	175,257	1,571,691	80%
Marietta	560,000	36,666	95,207	47,638	179,511	16%
Zanesville	1,669,600	286,988	464,863	162,064	913,915	54%
Chillicothe	2,164,588	648,244	286,825	97,033	1,032,102	46%
Cincinnati	3,605,800	1,400,686	987,338	367,035	2,755,059	76%
Wooster	1,209,600	137,417	721,162	50,000	908,579	75%
	11,101,118	3,487,531	2,974,299	899,027	7,360,857	66%

[32] Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals: Embracing Views of the Population, Commerce, Navigation, Fisheries, Public Lands, Post Office Establishment . . .* (Philadelphia, 1818), 366.

CHAPTER VI

The Farm in Production

THE farmer's first endeavor was to become as nearly self-sufficient as possible. His second concern was to create a surplus of farm produce which would be marketable for cash. He was more successful in his first purpose than in his second, for the plow usually led him to independence rather than wealth. He had need for only a moderate amount of money, but this need was most insistent until his farm was paid for. Optimism was characteristic of the pioneers; they invariably overestimated their future ability to pay, and the liberal terms on which they could contract for land involved the whole farming population in a morass of debt from which they were not entirely relieved in the period covered by this volume. Surpluses were created in advance of adequate marketing facilities; if this had not been true the optimism of the pioneers would not have been ill-founded. The thousands of immigrants who flocked to the State furnished a sizeable market for farm produce during the first year of their residence, but after the end of the second year these immigrants in turn had become producers and were adding to the surplus. Judge Jacob Burnet, always inclined to be realistic, remarked that "it was of no importance to the farmer, that his fields, with careful cultivation, would yield from fifty to a hundred bushels of corn per acre, when a fourth part of that quantity would answer his purpose, there being no market for the surplus." [1]

In spite of the prospect for poor returns on a vast amount of labor, the early farmers continued to add to their plowlands with the clearings of each fall and winter. Their role was that of pro-

[1] Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-western Territory* (New York, 1847), 399.

ducers and their hope was that the middlemen would keep up with them. If little cash came to hand when the harvest was disposed of, there was still the satisfaction of knowing that the family would not go hungry as they often had during the first winter in Ohio. If there was no money at all there was still no great emergency unless one's creditors were merciless. This chapter will deal with the problem of production and with the puzzle of finding a profitable market. A later chapter will discuss the development of a commercial system.

The resources of the uncleared timberland itself were not easily exhausted, for although the period of the hunter and trapper was passing at the time of the entrance of Ohio into the Union, considerable business was still done in deer, bear, and other pelts. The letter-books of Dudley Woodbridge, partner of Harman Blennerhassett in a mercantile business in Marietta, reveal a surprising amount of commerce in furs. The source of his skins cannot be traced; it may possibly have been the hills of western Virginia rather than the Muskingum Valley. In a letter of July, 1805, he states that he had on hand 500 deerskins and an equal number of bearskins suitable for the London market, which he valued at $2,000.[2] The day-books of this firm reveal frequent purchases of furs which were marketed through commission houses in Philadelphia.

The serious agriculturist considered wild animals rather as pests than as a source of revenue. He was thankful for the deer and wild fowl which supplemented the family larder, but could not give thanks for the squirrels which stole his corn nor for the wolves and foxes that played havoc with his flocks and poultry. The squirrels were incredibly numerous, and relentless war was declared upon them. The State legislature passed an act in 1807 which required every man of military age to present one hundred squirrel scalps to the township officials annually. He was penalized

[2] Dudley Woodbridge to Phineas Mathews, Marietta, July 27, 1805, Woodbridge-Gallaher MSS. (in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library, Columbus), Letter-box, Box 9.

three cents for each scalp that he lacked of that number and rewarded with the same amount for all in excess of a hundred. Large groups of hunters sometimes participated in "round-ups" in which as many as 20,000 squirrels are reported to have been slaughtered.[3] The wolves were a more serious menace and the legislature early provided rewards for their destruction. The statutes were frequently changed but generally the bounty was three dollars for the scalp of each full-grown wolf and half that for the young.[4] An indication of the number of these marauders may be obtained from the financial statements of the various counties. In Franklin County, for example, a total of over $1,100.00 was paid out for wolf scalps between the years 1804 and 1811, and as late as 1823 $30.00 was expended for that purpose.[5]

A cash market for one product of the virgin forests of Ohio was found, curiously enough, in China. Ginseng was considered a sovereign drug by the Oriental pharmacists, and the American skippers tried to meet their insatiable demand for it. As early as 1785 ginseng diggers appeared in Ohio from over the Virginia boundary. The aromatic roots of the plant were dug up at any time from spring to late fall with the aid of a pick-ax or an implement made for the purpose, called a "sang-hoe." The roots were never more than an inch in diameter and the digging was so tedious that a man could gather only eight or ten pounds in the course of a day. The roots were cleaned and dried, losing half their weight in the process, and could then be sold in almost any village at a fairly constant price of twenty-five cents a pound.[6] That the demand was great is shown by the fairly typical advertisement which appeared in *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati), November 27, 1815.

"Ginseng

"The subscriber will give the most liberal price for a quantity,

[3] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* June 21, 1820; Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* Aug. 29, 1822.

[4] Act of Dec. 22, 1821.

[5] Columbus *Gazette,* July 3, 1823; Sept. 9, 1819; *Supporter,* Sept. 14, 1811.

[6] F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward . . . ,* in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), III, 231.

between two and ten thousand pounds, of clean, dried, GINSENG ROOTS, to be delivered at any of the towns on the Ohio river above Cincinnati, or on any of its tributary navigable waters. Overtures for negotiating a trade in the above article will be promptly attended to, by

"JEREMIAH J. FOSTER.

"SPRINGFIELD, CHAMPAIGN COUNTY,
"November 15, 1815."

The value of ginseng to the Chinese was greatly increased if the roots were rendered transparent by a method of clarification which they had developed. A description of this process had appeared in European botanical journals but it was not widely known in the United States. The "secret" was sold in Ohio and Kentucky for as much as four hundred dollars.[7] The renowned Doctor William Goforth of Cincinnati became interested in this business but apparently failed to realize the fortune which he anticipated.[8] The traveler François André Michaux states that clarified ginseng sold for six or seven dollars a pound in Philadelphia and was resold in Canton for as much as a hundred dollars.

There was a constant search for other medicinal roots which might be marketed profitably. A fairly common plant, now known botanically as *Frasera carolinensis,* was thought to be the East India columbo root, an oriental bitter for which there was a great demand in China. Goforth invested rather heavily in the roots before he learned that the two herbs were not identical.[9] Price-lists published from time to time in the Cincinnati papers indicate that there was a good market for sassafras roots at from fifty to sixty dollars a ton and that Virginia snakeroot could be sold for about twenty cents a pound.[10]

A more lucrative business was the exporting of potash and pearlash, by-products of the great bonfires in the clearings. This vege-

[7] *Ibid.,* 233.
[8] Otto Juettner, *Daniel Drake and His Followers* (Cincinnati, 1909), 18.
[9] *Ibid.,* 19.
[10] *Supporter,* Oct. 29, 1816; Nov. 4, 1817.

table alkali was much in demand both in the East and in Europe, for use in soap-making, in the manufacture of glass, for the bleaching of cloth; and it was used by the pioneers themselves in the preparation of hominy. While every well-regulated household had an ash-hopper, the preparation of pearlash required fairly elaborate equipment, and was usually not manufactured at home. The method of production will be described in a later chapter, but two advertisements from the *Supporter* (Chillicothe) will be reproduced here to show the nature of the business.

"Ashes Wanted

"The Subscriber being about to erect works for the manufacture of pot and pearl ash, will, therefore, give a good price for clean "ashes.

"He would advise all farmers, who have land to clear, to be particular in scraping up and saving all their ashes, by erecting a small shed to put them under, and making some kind of a floor for them to lie on. Particular care must be taken that they do not lay on the ground any length of time. Ashes that are made by fire in houses, are preferable to those that are made by the clearing of land.

"Wm. Robinson, *Silversmith*

"Chillicothe, July 6, 1810."

"Pot and Pearl Ashes Wanted.

"I am authorized to contract for a quantity of pot and pearl ashes. For the former one hundred and twenty dollars per ton will be given; and for the latter one hundred and thirty dollars per ton. They must be of good quality, and must be delivered at Louisville, Kentucky.

"John M'Coy.

"Chillicothe, Dec. 11, 1812." [11]

While the sale of herbs, furs, and potash brought hundreds of thousands of dollars into early Ohio, it was important only as

[11] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1810; Dec. 19, 1812.

a source of ready cash. The first dependence of the earlier farmers was on corn and hogs, a combination admirably suited to the frontier. In the first place, the return on the original investment was most attractive, for hogs would multiply almost twenty times as rapidly as cattle, and corn would yield four hundredfold in comparison with twenty or thirtyfold for wheat. Corn could be planted and gathered before the land was well cleared, while wheat required a well-tilled soil for a satisfactory crop. Hogs would thrive throughout the winter on the acorns and beechnuts of the timber, whereas fodder and hay had to be provided for cattle.



WOOD & SWAN'S

Improved Patent Plough,

MADE and sold by CYRUS COFFIN, Front street, Cincinnati, are warranted to possess the following advantages in a superior degree:

1. To raise the furrow, and invert it with the least possible power.
2. To be strong and durable.
3. To require few repairs, and those of small expense.
4. To retain the original shape, and to suffer no injury from unskilful smiths.
5. To keep bright, and not load with earth.
6. To regulate the depth of the furrow.
7. To be used with or without a coulter.

The plough may be returned, if not approved of after a trial of one week.

No. 1, Corn Plough,	$16 00
No. 2, Two horse, 18 with Cutter	19 00
No. 3, $20, with steel shear and locked coulter,	25 00

N. B. A deduction of 10 per cent. from the above prices will be made when ten ploughs are ordered at a time.

January 12, 1819. 50-5

13. AN IMPROVED PLOW
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Feb. 9, 1819.

Corn had been the leading crop of the Indians of Ohio, and the earlier farmers probably obtained "squaw" corn of them for seed. The first improved varieties seem to have been the "hackberry" and "gourdseed," although flint corn was grown throughout the State. The ears of the gourdseed type were well filled but weighed less per bushel than flint corn. The popularity of the gourdseed may have been due to its sweetness and to the fact that it produced more whiskey to the bushel than other varieties.[12]

Corn could be cultivated Indian-fashion with a hoe, and many an early crop was planted and tended without a plow. The "bull-plows" of the pioneers, with wooden mold-board tipped with iron, were far from satisfactory. The best that could be done with

[12] W. A. Lloyd, J. I. Falconer, and C. E. Thorne, *Agriculture of Ohio,* Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin,* no. 326 (Wooster, O., 1918), 48-50.

these primitive implements was to edge up the sod, and the land, after it had been broken, often looked like a field of boulders. Harrowing and rolling were not thought necessary, the common practise being to lay out furrows with a shovel plow, at right angles to the original plowing. In these furrows the children would drop the seed, which was then covered by men with "nigger-hoes." The field might be harrowed once as the corn came up and subsequently was usually plowed twice with the wooden plow. Little effort was made to keep ahead of the Spanish needles, careless-weeds, cockleburrs, and pigweeds that grew almost as rapidly as the corn. A common witticism of the time was to say of a careless farmer's field that one could take hold of the wild pea and cucumber vines at one corner and shake off all the corn in the field.

At gathering time a horse, with a boy astride, would drag brush up and down between the rows in order that the huskers might find the corn. The common practise was to "jerk" the ears, leaving the stalks standing. The corn was husked in late fall or winter at the sociable "husking bees." The custom of cutting and shocking corn, now common throughout the State, originated among the settlers of the Scioto region who brought the practise with them from Virginia. Among New Englanders, pumpkins were planted in the cornfields, after the fashion of their homeland. Yields of ninety and a hundred bushels of corn to the acre were often reported, but in the fields where the weeds were not cut, thirty or forty bushels was the usual average.

The profitable marketing of corn was one of the farmer's greatest problems. There was a demand for corn-meal in New Orleans and other markets, but in order to prevent molding on the way it was necessary first to kiln-dry the meal and to pack it in moisture-proof barrels, which added so much to the cost that the profit was usually consumed. The great bulk of the surplus corn was sent to market in the form of whiskey, pork, or beef.

A great amount of corn was consumed at home in the form of corn bread, mush, and hominy; corn was the usual family cereal throughout the pioneer period. If the mills were not convenient for

grinding the corn it could be scraped on improvised graters or pounded in the hominy block. It may be well to describe the preparation of hominy, since it was so important on the pioneer's bill of fare.[13] A huge mortar was shaped by burning a conical hole in a convenient stump or large up-ended log, and a pestle was made by fastening an iron head to a block of wood. For ease in operation the pestle was suspended from a sweep or to a sapling. After pounding the shelled corn the grain was sifted and the finer portion was used in making corn bread, while the coarser remnant was made into hominy. Wood ashes were leached to prepare the lye water, which according to the recipe must be strong enough to float a turkey egg. The corn was boiled until the hull came loose and the grain was properly softened. It then was necessary to wash the hominy until all trace of the lye was gone, when it was ready to dry for later use or for cooking with the customary bacon or salt pork.

Someone laconically summarized the problem of surplus corn in these words: "The land would produce nothing but corn, but as there was no market for the corn, they made it into whiskey; and, as they could not sell the whiskey, they drank it." [14] Later in this volume an attempt will be made to estimate the amount of whiskey distilled and consumed within the State. It is doubtful if the amount exported ever approached the quantity consumed locally. The New Orleans price was seldom higher than ninety cents a gallon by the barrel and fell as low as twenty cents when the market was glutted. The average price before 1820 was around fifty cents for new whiskey and sixty for old. Rye, barley, and wheat were also used by the distillers, but the proportion of the grain of the State used for the manufacture of spirits declined as transportation facilities improved, to the gradual betterment of peace and order, one may safely assume.

The marketing of corn in the form of pork was a business which

[13] A. A. Graham, comp., *History of Fairfield and Perry Counties* (Chicago, 1883), 58.

[14] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio*, 50.

started slowly but grew eventually to great proportions.[15] The hogs that the pioneers brought with them were of the doubtful breed known variously as razorback, "rail-splitter," or "sun-fish" hogs. This type, long-legged, slim-bodied, fleet-footed, and slow in maturing, accompanied the pioneers on all the successive American frontiers. They were admirably adapted to pioneer conditions, for if there were no feed in the barnyard they could make their own way in the forest. In fact, it was usual to turn the hogs into the woods, with their ears slit for identification, and then to forget them until fall, when they would be rounded up for marketing. Corn was not fed to the razorbacks unless there was scarcity of mast, or possibly when they were fattened for the market at the end of the second year.

Early efforts were made to develop a breed of hogs which would mature rapidly and which would transform corn into pork which was not so fat as to be unpalatable. Various accounts are found of the true originators of this improvement. Felix Renick, the famous cattle breeder of Ross County, writes in his memoirs that his father purchased three pairs of China hogs in Baltimore and brought them to Ohio in 1811. Another authority thinks that the Shakers of Warren County were probably the first, for they imported big China hogs to their community in 1816 and cross-bred them with the "woods" hog. Various other breeds were imported, such as the Suffolk, Irish Grazier, and the Berkshire. Selective breeding eventually produced a famous type of hog known in the earlier years as the "Miami Valley hog," which was without doubt the progenitor of the Poland-China of the present day. It is unfortunate that this name does not preserve the place of origin, for the standardization of this breed is Ohio's greatest contribution to American live stock.[16]

Every self-sufficient farm was equipped to cure pork for home use. The process required an abundance of salt, which explains in

[15] *Ibid.*, 66-8.

[16] *Ibid.*, 68; C. S. Plumb, "Felix Renick, Pioneer," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXXIII (1924), 3-66.

part the tremendous demand for that article and the feverish search for salt wells. Huge kettles for boiling the water for scalding, and sound clean barrels were the first necessities, but smoke-houses for curing the hams soon appeared on every well-regulated farm. Almost every household had its recipe for curing the meat but the process came to be fairly well standardized. After the meat had been cut up and allowed to cool the flesh sides were rubbed with a small amount of saltpeter and sugar and then packed loosely in casks which were sometimes smoked to improve the flavor of the meat. Each layer of meat was covered with salt of the best quality available and allowed to stand in the dry salt for twenty-four hours, when water and salt and sometimes sugar were added. The brine must be strong enough to bear up an egg. After soaking in the brine for four or five weeks the meat to be cured was taken to the smoke-house and suspended over a smoldering fire of green hickory or sugar-maple chips. The hams and sides after being well smoked were wrapped in paper or cloth and would then keep almost indefinitely in a dry cool place.[17]

Pork could be sent to the market as salt pork, as smoked meat, or on the hoof. Although packing-houses did not develop until after the War of 1812, the State took steps to regulate both the quality of the meat and methods of packing, in the interests of all exporters. An act of 1815 required that pork should be packed in white oak barrels of between 200 and 225 pounds capacity. The barrel must be well made with from ten to fourteen hoops, securely nailed or pegged. Each container must be marked with the weight, gross, tare, and net. The judges of the courts of common pleas were authorized to appoint inspectors who in turn named their deputies and packers. The packing was under the direct supervision of these inspectors, if one may judge from the notice inserted in *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati) in the issue of October 29, 1808.

"Notice to Merchants, &c.

"Those who intend packing beef, pork, or lard, for exporta-

[17] Ohio State Board of Agriculture, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Columbus, 1858), 360.

tion, may save themselves some trouble by giving early information thereof to the subscriber, who in order to accommodate them, will appoint a sworn deputy Inspector for the purpose of packing these articles according to law. Otherwise they will be compelled to have all such articles repacked.

"Millers would do well to be cautious respecting their flour, as a rigid Inspection of that article will take place this season.

"PETER MILL,
Inspector of Hamilton County.

"Mill-creek,
Oct. 24, 1808."

The average weight of hogs at butchering was under two hundred pounds. Thomas Worthington wrote in his Diary under the date December 13, 1809, "Killed yesterday 23 Hoggs wt. 4020 lbs." This would make an average of 174 pounds. A summary published in Cincinnati of the packing business in 1823 gives the average weight of over fifteen thousand head at slightly more than one hundred eighty pounds.[18] The price to the farmer was as low as one cent and a half a pound delivered on the hoof in Cincinnati, and the price was proportionately lower in the interior of the State. The price of pork ranged widely in the New Orleans market, from four to twenty dollars for a barrel of two hundred pounds. Hams varied from nine to eighteen cents a pound, while bacon averaged from ten to twelve cents. Lard, commonly packed in firkins of from fifty to a hundred pounds, usually brought from ten to fifteen cents.

Hogs by the hundred thousands walked to markets as far distant as New York and Baltimore. The driving of hogs seems to have declined with the improvement of the breed of hogs. Long drives could be endured by razorbacks but were usually not successful with the smaller boned and heavier Miami breed. The drover's life could not have been a happy one, for swine are notoriously stubborn and any timber-land would look like home to a razorback

[18] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Gazette,* Jan. 24, 1823.

One may understand, therefore, the fairly well authenticated statement that the eyelids of the wilder hogs were sewed shut to keep them from straying from the drove.[19]

Although many of the early settlers understood the business of fattening cattle and there was pressure enough to find a use for the surplus corn, the feeding of cattle for the market developed slowly. Cattle could be fattened cheaply but it was generally believed that if they were driven to a distant market they would lose so much weight that they would not sell profitably. There is the usual dispute over the honor of having driven the first herd over the mountains. Ephraim Cutler states that the herd which he drove to the headwaters of the Potomac from the Marietta neighborhood in 1800 was generally said to be the first. Captain Jonathan Fowler, of Poland, drove a large herd which he purchased in the Canfield region to the Philadelphia market in 1804. In the spring of 1805 George Renick drove a herd of fat cattle from the Scioto settlements to Baltimore which netted a good profit. Renick's success was the introductory step in a highly important business, for the Scioto and Miami valleys became famous in Ohio, and ultimately throughout the United States, as a beef-producing area.[20]

The cattle brought to the State by the first settlers were of uncertain breed. They were scarcely differentiated as to which of three purposes they would serve best: for work, for milk, or for beef.[21] In the Western Reserve the farmers commonly spoke of cattle as either "yellow" or "brindle," the former being held the superior dairy cattle. Steers were often used as work animals, but it was not unusual to find cows hitched to the plows. While Pennsylvania and Virginia contributed the greater part of the original stock, the herds became even more heterogeneous through pur-

[19] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio,* 67.

[20] J. P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler* (Cincinnati), 1890), 89-90; William Renick, *Memoirs, Correspondence and Reminiscences* (Circleville, 1880), 12; Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour . . . ,* in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* IV, 136; I. F. King, "Coming and Going of Ohio Droving," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XVII (1908), 247-53.

[21] Renick, *Memoirs,* 22-3; Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio,* 61-3.

chases from the Indians, notably the Chickasaws. Some effort was made to improve the stock through selective breeding and by the importation of bulls. The greatest improvement came in the 1830's when selected shorthorn or Durham cattle were brought to the Scioto Valley directly from England. A type of beef animal known as the "Patton" breed was developed in the Scioto region from stock brought to Ohio from Kentucky by John Patton in 1800. These animals, which sometimes reached a weight of 3,000 pounds, seem to have been of the shorthorn type and probably derived from importations to Maryland in the 1770's.

Worthington, who owned large acreages in the Chillicothe region, was interested in buying and selling cattle. His Diary makes it possible to describe some features of the business. At times he had as many as 750 head grazing on his meadow-land. Apparently his fences were not secure for he took the precaution of branding his stock with a large "T.W." He was in partnership with a Mr. Lewis, who apparently took charge of bringing the cattle up from Tennessee. In an entry of July 10, 1810, Worthington writes, "This evening 199 head of cattle arrive from Chickasaw indians of good size and handsome but thin." Again on the 20th, "This morning cloudy & like for rain . . . overtake Lewis with 205 head of cattle not so good as the first by a great odds got to my place with them in the evening which is pleasant." The entry of July 24, 1810, summarized the results of the two drives:

"1st. drove 207—4 lost
203 cost 2,883.50
560.39—cost of droving from Chickasaws.
3,443.89—or $16.86 per head.

"2d drove 213—11 lost.
202 cost 2,831.77
218.43—cost of droving.
3,050.20—or 15.00 per head."

It is not possible to trace the sale of this particular herd. An

entry of August 7 of the same year records the sale of 204 head at $25.50. The price was unusually good that season, for in the following summer Worthington was buying cattle for as low as $11.28 a head and in 1812 there are sales recorded at eighteen dollars.[22]

Cutler, who possibly should be credited with driving the first herd of Ohio cattle to an eastern market, entered the business through the force of circumstances rather than from desire. His own account is worthy of quotation: "When I resided in Ames township, with a view to encourage settlers to come into that part of the country, I bought on credit a considerable amount of land from proprietors in New England, which I sold to settlers on credit, trusting them until they could raise wheat or cattle, usually the latter, to pay me for their farms. This early led me into the droving business. I commenced this traffic in 1800, and it was said that I drove the first cattle over the mountains to eastern markets ever taken from Ohio. I did more or less of this laborious business, annually, for thirty years. Small profit generally resulted to me, but necessity controlled it. Eventually, many poor families were placed in very flourishing circumstances, who had nothing with which to buy land, nor a dollar to spare for years after they made the purchase of me. I thus aided some two hundred families to obtain homes. A number of these have become wealthy, and many are scattered far and wide in the great West. I believe, for the most part, they have established good and honorable characters." [23] It was typical of Cutler, as a good New Englander, that he took as much or more satisfaction in building character than in amassing a fortune.

Cutler continues with an interesting extract from a diary kept on one of his earlier cattle drives. He and his son crossed the Ohio River above Marietta on the twenty-fifth of July, 1809, with a herd of eighty-six head. He disposed of the last of his cattle on September 5, by which time he had reached the neighborhood of

[22] Thomas Worthington, Diary, July 6, 1811; Sept. 7, 1812.
[23] Cutler, *Cutler,* 89-90.

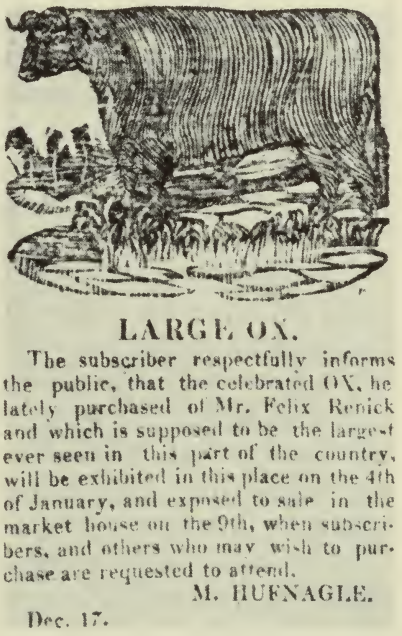
York, Pennsylvania. His daily entries tell of steers lost and recovered after long search, of cattle sick from eating laurel, of the beauties of the country through which he passed. The whole account is interspersed with caustic or kindly comment on the manners and doings of those whom he encountered. The cash transactions are not completely recorded and it is impossible to calculate what his total proceeds were. Thirteen head were sold at twenty-two dollars apiece, five at seventeen, one at fourteen, eight at seventeen-fifty, and so on. One must conclude that his cattle weighed between three and four hundred pounds, for he mentions prices varying from six to eight cents a pound and no selling price higher than twenty-two dollars by the head. If Ohio cattle were considered marketable at three or four hundred pounds, and Worthington records butchering steers of the latter weight, it is small wonder that need was felt for improving the stock.

For two or three years immediately before the War of 1812 Cutler operated in partnership with Colonel William Vause, who lived on the south branch of the Potomac. The arrangement was that Cutler should purchase cattle early in the spring, and drive them to the Glades in Allegheny County, Maryland, where the colonel would superintend their care until ready for the market. This would seem to have been an admirable scheme, and later cattlemen followed a similar practise. Cutler's operations, however, were interrupted by the war, and by restrictions which the state of Maryland placed upon the use of pastures by non-residents.

The ventures of Cutler in the cattle trade have been described at length because he was one of the earliest Ohioans in the business and because he left a record of his operations, rather than because his operations were typical. The Miami and Scioto valleys produced the larger part of the great herds of fat cattle that were later driven over the mountains by professional drovers or commission men. The presence of the army on the northern frontier during the War of 1812 created a large demand for local beef and the drives were diverted for a time in that direction. During the years of depression which followed the war there was a collapse in

the price of wheat and virtually everything else which the farmer had to sell. But the driving of cattle and hogs to the eastern market not only continued but actually increased in volume, for although the price of stock was low, it was the only business left which produced any cash at all.[24]

Butter and cheese from the pioneer dairies were among the early exports of Ohio.[25] Every New Englander, as a matter of course, brought equipment for making cheese with him when he migrated. The Western Reserve, whether because of the training of the settlers, the character of the soil, or both, has been from the outset the leading dairying section of the State. A story is told of George Stillson, of Trumbull County, who took 800 pounds of cheese to Pittsburgh in 1803. He started his sales at sixteen cents but found the demand so great that he doubled his price and sold the remainder without difficulty. Boat-loads of cheese appeared on the Ohio River in the 1820's, the cargo being sold at the river towns from Wheeling to New Orleans. Cheese-making was a home industry throughout the period of this study, the housewife receiving from three to five cents a pound for a product that later sold at from three to five times that amount. Prices ranged widely according to the quality, but seldom fell below twelve and one half cents a pound. Butter, well-salted, in kegs of from fifty to one hundred



LARGE OX.

The subscriber respectfully informs the public, that the celebrated OX, he lately purchased of Mr. Felix Renick and which is supposed to be the largest ever seen in this part of the country, will be exhibited in this place on the 4th of January, and exposed to sale in the market house on the 9th, when subscribers, and others who may wish to purchase are requested to attend.

M. HUFNAGLE.

Dec. 17.

14. LARGE OX
From Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Dec. 30, 1818.

[24] Renick, *Memoirs,* 12.
[25] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio,* 63-4.

pounds, was a usual part of the cargo of the flatboats engaged in the New Orleans trade. The early inspection laws required that the contents of the kegs must be examined diagonally with a "searcher" and approved butter must be free from any rancid or musty taste.[26] Prices for butter fluctuated from twelve to twenty cents a pound by the keg.

Although the fattening of cattle and hogs was an important part of frontier economy, greater dependence as a source of cash was placed upon the sale of wheat and flour. Ohio eventually became one of the leading wheat-producing states of the Union, but this was not in the pioneer period. The acreage devoted to wheat increased fairly slowly, due to a number of factors. In the first place the soil must be more carefully prepared for wheat than for corn. This meant an increased expenditure of labor, and labor was at a premium in pioneer times. Harvesting, threshing, and milling were costly in terms of labor and money. Nevertheless, wheat and flour were the commonest Ohio exports to the New Orleans market in the first decades of the century. In part this was due to the artificially high prices of flour during the period of the Napoleonic wars. Ohio wheat and flour competed in a world market, which may explain the interest of the backwoodsmen of Ohio in the economic diplomacy of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

Wheat and corn, although frequently grown successively on the same land, have different requirements for their best production. It was discovered early that wheat grown on the rich bottom-land was often so weak in the stem that it fell before harvesting, and that it was particularly subject to rust and mildew. Farmers who came into eastern Ohio from Pennsylvania in search of wheat-land almost invariably selected heavily timbered white oak land on the uplands rather than the richer bottoms. The center of the wheat-producing area in early Ohio was in the "Backbone" counties, especially Stark, Wayne, Holmes, Ashland, and Richland; in later years the center was farther to the west. Wheat was considered the staple crop of the hilly lands of the eastern part of the

[26] Act of Feb. 20, 1805.

State, while corn was the great crop of the alluvial soils of the Miami and Scioto country.[27]

The wheat grown by the earlier farmers was probably white chaff, both bald and bearded. This variety was subject to wheat scab and to a disease called "sick wheat" which rendered the grain unfit for food.[28] Red chaff bearded, introduced into Muskingum County in 1808 by John Dent, was resistant to these disorders and became the standard variety for the next twenty years. The millers at first objected to the red chaff wheat but it seems to have improved with successive years of cultivation. Mediterranean wheat in several varieties was introduced in the 1820's and gradually supplanted the red chaff type. The latter variety proved especially vulnerable to the Hessian fly which arrived to curse the farmers in that decade.[29]

Wheat was usually sown in the fall, although there was occasional difficulty with winter-killing. It was not considered good practise to plant wheat on newly cleared ground but rather after crops of corn, oats, or buckwheat had been raised to "tame" the soil. The average farmer paid little attention to crop rotation until declining yields warned him of his neglect. Wheat was planted year after year with an occasional intervening crop of corn. The land was sometimes summer-fallowed, both to improve the soil and to kill the weeds. A writer in a Cincinnati paper gave his own plan for fallowing.[30] He plowed the land deeply in June and allowed sheep to run on it to keep the weeds down. In August he cross-harrowed and plowed the second time. During the first two weeks of September he cross-harrowed again and marked the land off for seeding. He planned to finish the sowing and final harrowing by the middle of October. He used a bushel and a half of seed to the acre. The value of clover for rebuilding soil was well understood, and when land had become depleted, wheat was often planted on a two-year clover sod which had been turned under in July.

[27] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio,* 129.
[28] J. H. Klippart, *Wheat Plant . . .* (Cincinnati, 1860), 519.
[29] *Ibid.,* 516.
[30] *Liberty Hall,* June 13, 1823.

Deep plowing and repeated harrowing were not possible for these first farmers. Their harrow was commonly a home-made affair with wooden rather than iron teeth. It was in the shape of the letter A and the horse or ox was hitched to the sharp angle in order that the stumps might be more easily avoided. For want of even this crude implement many a struggling pioneer dragged his field with the limb of a tree. The harvesting was laborious at any time in the pioneer period, for the substitution of the cradle for the sickle was only a slight improvement. The cradle was a scythe with a light wooden framework attached which had three or four wooden fingers paralleling the blade. It enabled the skillful "cradler" to cut the grain and at the same time to lay it in a swath, ready to be raked and bound into sheaves. By a huge expenditure of energy a man with a cradle could cut from two to two and a half acres in a day, while the sickler was cutting one. Two methods of threshing were used, by flailing or by tramping out the grain with horses or oxen, both methods already old in the days of Ruth and Boaz.[31]

The millers seem to have kept up with the farmers, for the greater part of the grain was exported in the form of flour. The legislature provided in 1805 for certain rules in the packing of flour.[32] It must be packed in good sound casks of not more than "twenty-seven inches in length and not more than seventeen in head." Each cask must contain 196 pounds of flour and the weight and quality were to be marked on the barrel. Inspectors were authorized to condemn flour if not merchantable and to compel repacking when they considered it necessary. Hard biscuits, made of wheat flour, were also commonly found on the flatboats bound for the New Orleans market. These biscuits were carefully packed in casks and were less subject to spoiling in transit or in storage than was flour.

The development of the milling industry and the extent of the commerce in wheat will be studied in a later chapter. Statistics

[31] P. W. Bidwell and J. I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, D. C., 1925), 207.

[32] Act of Feb. 20, 1825.

on the local consumption of wheat in the early period are difficult to obtain but it is safe to assume that it increased gradually throughout the pioneer period, varying inversely with the price of wheat at the seaports. François A. Michaux, in 1802, wrote that "The Americans of the interior cultivate wheat rather for speculation, in order to send the flour made from it to the seaports, than for their private consumption, because nine-tenths of them use bread made of corn." [33]

The early farmer's efforts were directed more largely by the desire for self-sufficiency than by this search for an exportable surplus. He kept sheep for the same reason that he raised flax: in order to have the raw materials for the family's clothing. The sheep brought to the West by the first settlers produced a short coarse wool, fairly satisfactory for home use, but of slight commercial value. The craze for Merino sheep reached a peak in the years 1810–15, declining as rapidly as it arose in the period of the postwar depression.[34] For a period of nine years following 1807, the commerce of the United States with Europe was impeded by the Napoleonic Wars and our accompanying policy of "economic coercion." The domestic manufacture of woolens was artificially stimulated, and this in turn produced a demand for American wool. The rise in price of wool coincided with the introduction of Merino sheep, with their long fleece of unbelievably fine quality. The local demand for wool in Ohio increased during this period because of the erection of woolen-mills, notably that at Steubenville. Yarns and carded wool figured for a time in the exports from the State but disappeared in the postwar period.

The first Merinos were probably brought into the State by Seth Adams, of Muskingum County, who obtained his animals in Massachusetts. Rufus Putnam and Paul Fearing of Marietta, and Dr. Increase Mathews of the village of Putnam also were among the early importers. Fearing is said to have given sixteen hundred acres of land for a full-blooded ram in 1811. The importations

[33] Michaux, *Travels,* 191.

[34] *Supporter,* July 13, 1811; Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer,* Sept. 18, 1811; *Liberty Hall,* Mar. 4, 1815.

from Spain reached such proportions in 1811 and 1812 that the price fell to fairly reasonable levels. The newspapers of the time frequently printed advertisements of Merino rams for service or for sale. William R. Dickinson, partner of Bezaleel Wells in the manufacture of woolens in Steubenville, invested heavily in imported animals. By 1824 his flock had increased to over five thousand head. When the flock was finally sold, because of the business failure of the owner, the prices ranged from three dollars for the run of the flock, to twenty-two dollars for the best animals. The price paid for Merino wool was sometimes exorbitant, the firm of Wells and Dickinson, for example, gave as much as $2.75 a pound in 1814, when ordinary wool was bringing about forty cents.[35]

Woolens and linens or a mixture of the two, the linsey-woolsey of our great-grandmothers, were the common textiles of the pioneer period. Cotton eventually displaced linen, but as late as the 1830's it was as usual to find a field of flax on a farm as it was to find corn. It was pulled, retted, and broken by the farmer and then turned over to the housewife for further processing. There was a fairly constant local demand for "country linen," particularly after the towns of Ohio had attained some size, but there was apparently only a small amount of linen or flax exported. Linseed oil, however, was an important article of commerce. No less than fifteen oil-presses were reported in the Census of 1820. The common price was one dollar and a quarter a gallon by the barrel. John Trimble, of the Chillicothe region offered it for sale at a dollar a gallon in an advertisement inserted in the *Independent Republican* in 1809, "and if any person can sell it lower, either from Pittsburgh or any other *Burgh,* I will do so too." He hoped for the patronage of Chillicothe and the neighborhood, for that, he said, "will be the means of saving so much of the *precious stuff* called *cash,* so much nigher home." [36]

Hemp was also grown during the first two or three decades of

[35] *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore, Md.), XXXVI (1814), 399.
[36] Dec. 13, 1809; *Supporter,* Oct. 13, 1810.

the century, although never so commonly as flax. During the period of ship-building in Marietta considerable hemp was needed to supply the ropewalks which manufactured cordage for the vessels. Samuel Prescott Hildreth stated that most of the hemp was grown by Irish settlers. The price-lists published from time to time in the newspapers quoted the price of hemp at from one hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars a ton. The cost of raising hemp, in terms of both land and labor, was so great that the industry declined because of the competition of slave labor in Kentucky.[37]

The less important and non-commercial products of the pioneer farm may now be summarized. Hay was commonly either the wild grass or timothy which found a market, particularly with newcomers, at from six to ten dollars a ton. Clover was introduced rather slowly as a forage crop, although such farmers as Nathaniel Massie and Worthington were planting it in Ross County quite early. Oats was grown, particularly among the Pennsylvanians, but there was little sold. Rye was relatively important because it was a more certain crop than wheat on new land and because there was a fair market for it among the local distillers. Barley was not grown extensively until the end of the pioneer period, when the breweries of Cincinnati created a demand for it. Cotton was grown in small quantities in the southeastern counties but never reached more than a local market.

The growing of a fruit orchard was one of the first subsidiary interests of the pioneer farmer. He planted apple-, pear-, peach-, plum-, and cherry-trees as soon as he was able to procure them. Scions for grafts were brought over the mountains within a few years after the first settlement at Marietta. The Putnam nursery in the Muskingum Valley was established about 1818 and in the course of time had a tremendous influence on horticulture throughout the State. The Kirtland brothers were the proprietors of a famous nursery at Poland in the 1820's and a number of excellent varieties of pears and cherries originated there. The Zane nursery

[37] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio*, 55; *Supporter*, Oct. 6, 1810.

at Bridgeport, across the river from Wheeling, sold fruit trees throughout the central counties and along the "Trace." The Rome Beauty apple was the most valuable variety perfected in Ohio. It was developed from a seedling which Joel Gellett, of Rome township, Lawrence County, purchased of the Putnam nursery.[38]

John Chapman, or "Johnny Appleseed," was responsible for the planting of more pioneer orchards than any single individual. The fascinating story of this wandering eccentric has been often and ably told. He made his appearance at Marietta in 1801, bringing with him apple-seeds which he obtained at the cider-mills of western Pennsylvania. His wanderings took him from the Ohio River to Lake Erie, but most of his "nurseries" were located in central Ohio, along the Muskingum and Licking rivers. Hundreds of farmers received their first apple-trees from "Johnny Appleseed," who offered them in return for food and shelter. He did not believe in grafting, because he considerd it contrary to nature and as a consequence much of the fruit from his trees was of inferior quality. He is credited with spreading the seeds of such herbs as pennyroyal, catnip, hoarhound and others, which tended to become weeds and hence not an unmixed blessing.[39]

The pioneers of the Scioto Valley showed great interest in their orchards. Worthington had many varieties of plums and pears as well as apples and peaches. He did his own grafting. The energetic Dr. William Goforth of Cincinnati apparently was something of a nurseryman. In a letter to Massie in 1803, he first wrote that the bushel of clover seed which he had spoken for was ready for delivery, and then continues, "I should be glad [if] you would by next post, or in such way as may be most agreeable to you, inform me of the number of apple trees you would wish to have, and of what kinds; or if it should be agreeable to you, to determine the number and leave it to me to make out the assortment, I believe I can furnish you with fifteen or twenty different kinds of fruit, and by fixing talleys to them, you can with a little care in planting

[38] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio*, 56-9.

[39] *Ibid.*, 58; E. S. Atkinson, *Johnny Appleseed: the Romance of the Sower* (New York, 1915).

and makeing a record know what sort of fruit to look for or be able to make Scions for grafting from such as you would more particularly wish to propagate." [40]

William Ludlow, another famous pioneer, had a nursery of one hundred thousand trees on Mill Creek near Cincinnati. In an issue of *Liberty Hall* of July 21, 1806, he offered these trees for sale at six dollars a hundred. By 1812 Chillicothe had her own nursery. George Haynes advertised such varieties as Pumgray, Calvert, Oxeye, Cathead, Pinnick, Rock Rimmin, Golden Paremain, Spitsenburg, Kentucky Redstreak, Bell-Flower, and several varieties of Pippins. In addition to the thirty varieties which he listed by name, he had cut grafts "from the choicest trees in Gen. Worthington's, Gen. M'Arthur's, Gen. Putnam's, Col. Armstrong's, and many other orchards in the State of Ohio, so that I flatter myself, that my trees are equal to any in the United States." [41]

Apples had some commercial value, the packing varieties being sent to the New Orleans markets. In the fall they sold as low as fifty cents a bushel, but those which kept over winter brought as much as four and a half dollars a barrel in May. There was little local market after the numerous young orchards came into bearing. A foreign traveler who visited Ohio in the fall of 1819 remarked on the abundance of the crop: "In almost every orchard is seen a cider press, and under every tree large apples, so thick that at every step you must tread upon them, while the bows above are breaking down with their overladen weight. It is here no crime for either man or beast to rob orchards." [42]

Nicholas Longworth, of Cincinnati, was a pioneer in grape-growing in Ohio. He began his experimentation with a large variety of American and European grapes as early as 1808, and by 1818 he had a well-established vineyard. He controlled extensive vineyards in Hamilton and Clermont counties which he operated on a

[40] William Goforth to Nathaniel Massie, Columbia, Feb. 11, 1803, Massie MSS. (in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library).

[41] *Supporter,* Oct. 17, 1812.

[42] William Faux, *Memorable Days in America . . .* , in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* XI, 172.

share-crop basis. The tenant agreed to set out and care for a certain acreage of grapes each year and deliver half the crop to Longworth's winery in lieu of rent. The Catawba was chosen as the grape best suited for southern Ohio after testing hundreds of other varieties. The raising of grapes became a leading industry throughout southwestern Ohio after 1830 but it declined after the appearance of grape-rot about 1850. Longworth should also be credited with the introduction of stawberry culture into the State.[43]

The more serious pests and plant diseases such as the Hessian fly and grape-rot did not appear in time to harass the first generation of Ohio farmers. There were pests, to be sure, but the farmer was indifferent, for his crop was already too large. Nor was he greatly concerned about such matters as soil erosion or depletion, to the regret of those who tilled the soil after him. Worthington was certainly not the least progressive farmer of the Scioto country and yet he seems to have been quite indifferent to the value of barnyard fertilizer, unless he was "pulling the leg" of Thomas Hulme, who visited him in 1818.

"July 20th—We were introduced to Governor Worthington, who lives two miles from the town. He took us to his house, and showed us part of his fine estate, which is 800 acres in extent, and all of it elevated table land, commanding an immense view over the flat country in the direction of Lake Erie. The soil is very rich indeed; so rich, that the governor pointed out a dung heap which was bigger than the barn it surrounded and had grown out of, as a nuisance. The labour of dragging the dung out of the way, would be more than the cost of removing the barn, so that he is actually going to pull the barn down, and build it up again in another place. This is not a peculiarity of this particular spot of land, for manure has no value here at all. All the stable-dung made at Chillicothe is flung into the river. I dare say, that the Inn we put up at does not tumble into the water less than 300 good loads of horse-dung every year." [44]

[43] Lloyd and others, *Agriculture of Ohio,* 57.

[44] Thomas Hulme, *Journal Made during a Tour . . . ,* in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* X, 70-1.

The high cost of labor, of which Worthington complained, was a constant deterrent to the individual farmer throughout the pioneer period. So important a factor was this scarcity of labor that it may in part explain such diverse phenomena as the rise of tenant-farming on a share-crop basis, the cooperation of neighbors in their log-rollings and husking-bees, and the early marriages and large families which characterized the frontier. The families migrating to the new country were for the most part "young families," and the father was fortunate indeed who had boys old enough to help him in the field. It was taken as a matter of course that the boys would work without pay until they reached the age of twenty-one. Every able-bodied member of the family turned to the labor at hand. Worthington, returning from the United States Senate, would be busy in the hay-fields or at his mill on the following day, while his wife busied herself with stemming the currants and making them into wine, or with some other task of the household. And the Worthingtons belonged to the gentry, if the West may be said to have had such a class.

The English traveler, John Bradbury, who passed through Ohio in the year 1809, made a study of the wages paid to laborers. "Wages in the Western Country, to a laborer or husbandman, are about fifteen dollars, or £3. 7s. 6d. per month, and his board, washing &c. Carpenters, masons, and other handicraft men, average about one dollar and twenty-five cents per day, equal to 5s. 7½d. or one dollar and board. Shoemakers have about 4s. sterling for making a pair of shoes, and for a pair of boots about 11s." [45] At wages such as these, and there is evidence to support Bradbury's statement, the thrifty farm-hand might well be in a position to set himself up as a farmer at the end of two or three years.[46] Even at good wages labor was frequently not to be had. An advertisement for three or four axmen and as many men with oxen appeared for several successive weeks in a Cincinnati paper of 1806.[47] Similar evidence of the scarcity of labor could be cited from many newspapers.

[45] John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior . . . , ibid.*, V, 287-8.
[46] Timothy Flint, *Letters from America . . . , ibid.*, IX, 122.
[47] *Liberty Hall,* Jan. 20, 1806 ff.

The lack of capital, the scarcity of labor, and cheap lands with almost no market for the abundant crops—these were the economic conditions faced by the pioneer farmers throughout the Ohio Valley. Other farmers on earlier frontiers had faced precisely the same set of conditions. It was natural under the circumstances that the Ohio region should have developed into a self-sufficient economic province which existed until improved transportation erased the provincial boundary lines. Since there was seldom a trade balance with which to pay for the manufactured goods which the frontiersman needed from over the mountains, the factories moved west, on a small scale at the beginning, to be sure, but developing to such proportions that a chapter may well be devoted to the subject.[48]

[48] Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture,* 162-3.

CHAPTER VII

Waterways

THE best natural market for Ohio products was on the Eastern Seaboard; and there was a good demand in Ohio for the manufactured goods which the eastern merchants had for sale. These complementary markets were separated by mountain ranges which remained a barrier to heavy freight throughout the pioneer period. In fact, it may well be said that the pioneer stage in Ohio's history came to an end when means were found to reduce the high cost of transportation east and west. The Ohio River, which determined the direction of Ohio's commercial connections, was both a blessing and a curse. The very current which carried the pioneer's produce to New Orleans so inexpensively (and slowly) all but prohibited the use of the river for up-stream traffic. New Orleans, because of the expense of up-stream freighting, did not figure largely as a source of supplies for the Ohio region. Ohioans, in the earlier years, sold in a market where they did not buy and bought in a market where they could not sell. One authority estimates that in the flatboat period the up-stream traffic probably did not exceed one-tenth of that which passed down the river.[1] The low value of Ohio produce in relation to its weight compelled the use of the river, whereas the less bulky imports would stand the high price of freighting over the mountains. The credits which were built up with the commission men in New Orleans were used to offset the debts owed to the wholesale houses in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. Steamboats gradually brought about an increase in the volume of up-stream freight, but

[1] W. F. Switzler, "Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States," U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report and Statements . . . on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1887*, U. S. Congress, House, *Executive Documents*, 50 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 6, p. 185.

the true revolution in Ohio's economic system came with the completion of the Erie and Ohio canals and with the building of the railroads.

The usefulness of the river for heavy freighting was limited to the rainy season from October to May and during that period it was sometimes closed because of ice. The heaviest barges must await the freshets of the late winter. The stage of the water over the Falls at Louisville was of utmost importance to the Ohio boatmen.[2] Projects without number were evolved for constructing a water route around this hazardous series of rapids, but by the time a canal was finally completed the highways to the east were greatly improved. So long as the usefulness of the river was seasonal, with alternate starving and glutting of the markets at New Orleans, there was not a true basis, even after the introduction of steamboats, for the building of a satisfactory commercial system. The barges and steamboats did bring a great variety of goods from the southern port, particularly staples for the frontier grocery stores, but manufactured goods were not brought up the river in any great quantity, since New Orleans herself was so far from the sources of supply.

In reading contemporary accounts one is impressed with the alternate pessimism and optimism of those engaged in commerce. The uncertain and hazardous traffic with New Orleans was no easy way to wealth, yet there was always hope for better times. The purchase of Louisiana, the prospect of a canal at the falls, and finally the convincing performance of the steamboats, furnished in turn the basis for bright visions of the future. The prosperity which the optimists predicted as near at hand did come to Ohio at last. One may hope that it came in time to brighten the old age of those who had so long foreseen it.

Pittsburgh, rather than New Orleans, was the river town with which the pioneer Ohioans were most familiar. Thousands embarked there on their first journey into the wilderness. That city

[2] Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-western Territory* (New York, 1847), 401.

remained for many years the entrepôt in which the merchants of Ohio could replenish their supply of eastern goods. It grew to be a manufacturing center also, although in the course of time the local manufactures within Ohio competed successfully with many Pittsburgh products. Situated at the meeting point of land and river traffic, its position made it the natural capital of a huge economic province.

The river boats which lined the Pittsburgh levee in the early days presented the greatest variety in size and design.[3] It is possible to classify these boats according to their purpose and construction, although some would surely have been labeled "nondescript." The sharpest division would be to distinguish between the boats which were designed solely for down-stream travel and those which could also be propelled against the stream. In the first category belong the various types of flatboats: arks, Kentucky boats, New Orleans boats, and the broadhorns. The craft capable of up-stream travel included the keel-boats, the various types of barges, and finally the steamboats. In a class by themselves were the ocean-going vessels, built at Marietta and other river towns, which performed the almost incredible feat of carrying the products of the Ohio Valley to the eastern seaports and even to Europe.

An accurate description of the boats in which literally millions of early Americans floated upon the inland waters is impossible. Not one of the thousands of such craft, built in the pioneer period, is known to have survived to the present day. The descriptions left by travelers vary greatly in detail and nomenclature, and the contemporary drawings are not numerous enough to afford complete information. It is not possible, for example, to state authoritatively whether the first steamboat was a stern- or side-wheeler, or whether her name was *Orleans* or *New Orleans*. The flatboats, it is clear, were little more than huge rectangular boxes. Seymour Dunbar, the historian of American travel, describes them picturesquely as a mixture of log cabin, fort, floating barnyard, and country store.[4]

[3] Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 183-9.
[4] Seymour Dunbar, *History of Travel in America* (New York, 1937), 272.

The earliest emigrants built their own flatboats on one of the upper tributaries of the Ohio. As the tide of newcomers grew in proportions, flatboat building became an established industry in Redstone (Brownsville), Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and other towns where the roads from the East reached the western waters. The boats were sold by the linear foot, the price varying naturally with the width, but with one dollar a foot being a common figure. In the earlier years there was little official regulation or inspection of the work of the boat-builders. Zadok Cramer of Pittsburgh, publisher of *The Navigator,* which for years was the standard river guide, warned the migrant against the sharp practises of the boat-makers. He gave point to his warning with stories of disasters caused by the use of imperfect planking, poor caulking, or other negligence.[5] Cramer deserves to be remembered in the histories of the Ohio Valley, for his guide-book, with its crude but intelligible wood-blocks mapping the river channel, must have proved an invaluable aid to the migrating farmer who must perforce become a boatman.

The family flatboats were called "arks," which was almost inevitable since the young patriarch, as he embarked upon the flood, surrounded by his family, his live stock, and all his worldly possessions, must have reminded even himself of Noah. The family boats were sometimes roofed completely, but more frequently a simple shelter was provided for the household at one end and a pen was built at the other for the live stock. There were commonly two oars at the front of the vessel and a long sweep at the stern which served as a rudder. By the simple expedient of drifting with the current the ark usually arrived safely, unless a low stage of the river made the ripples dangerous, or ice jams were encountered.[6]

The arks were seldom more than fifteen feet wide, while the

[5] Zadoc Cramer, *The Navigator, Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1st ed. 1801; 8th ed. 1814, etc.); ~~Timothy~~ Flint, *Letters from America* . . . , in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), IX, 94.

[6] *Ibid.*, 96.

length was suited to the amount of cargo. With space at a premium, great ingenuity was shown in the loading of the vessel. The plow and wagon box were set astride the roof of the tiny cabin and the wagon wheels were usually secured to the sides of the boat. A small brick fireplace served for the preparation of the family meals. The arks were typical only during the first two decades of the century. Prior to that time the danger from the Indians compelled the use of boats with stouter sides, while barges and steamboats served a later generation of river travelers. Having played their great role, the arks disappeared from the waters of the Ohio, but it is safe to say that stories were told around many a farmer's fireside of the brief period when the family took to the river.

The design of flatboats was open to endless modification in size, construction of the deck, and shape of the prow. The terms "Kentucky boat" and "broadhorn" were applied, with little discrimination, to medium sized flatboats. The first got its name from its destination and the second from the two large oars which protruded like horns from the prow. The term "New Orleans boat," given generally to flatboats destined for the lower river, came to have a more specific meaning. They were larger than the arks and broadhorns and certainly were more stoutly built. A traveler who descended the river in 1817 describes them as follows: "These flat boats or Orleans boats as they are called in the Western Waters are from 12 to 25 feet wide, and from 30 to 90 feet long. They are sold when they arrive at their place of destination, and broken up. Not a 100 nails are used in building one, but they are stuck together with wooden pins. They will carry 700 barrels of flour. They cost 1$ pr. foot in length and sell for 1/4$. They are manned by four men each and a patroon. In the Mississippi double that number is necessary for the stream runs eight miles an hour, and is full of Eddies." [7]

The flatboats were built of stout timber, but a sudden squall upon the river would often wrench the seams and let the water in. The greatest menace, however, was from the innumerable tree

[7] E. P. Fordham, *Personal Narrative* (Cleveland, 1906), 79.

trunks which had in some fashion become imbedded in the river bottom with their stout limbs, like so many pikes, offering resistance to all comers. The stoutest wooden vessels were vulnerable to these weapons of the river, as the record of the navigation of the Mississippi abundantly proves.[8] The boatmen classified these sunken trees into three groups. First there were the "sawyers," moving slowly up and down under the force of the current. One must be alert at any sudden turbulence ahead which might indicate that the sunken limbs were coming to the surface. The "sleeping sawyers" rose and fell with the current but, because of the depth of the water, were not visible upon the surface. The "planters" were logs solidly imbedded in the mud. All three types of obstruction were usually inclined down-stream, but when they pointed upstream they were especially menacing. The flatboats were peculiarly vulnerable because they responded slowly to the rudder and sweeps. The crew must work like mad to avoid such dangers as they were able to see. The sunken snags would often pierce the heaviest planking as if it were matchwood. The flatboats lost from all the river hazards are said to have been approximately one-quarter of all which left the upper country for New Orleans.[9] The arks, broadhorns, and the New Orleans boats are often referred to as the "boats which never came back"; all too frequently they did not even arrive.

In sharp contrast with the unwieldy flatboats were the stately sea-going ships which, during a short period, were built along the upper Ohio. Although their story has been frequently told it still comes as a surprise to those unfamiliar with the history of the river. An accurate count of the number of such vessels cannot now be made. One authority estimates that the value of sea-going vessels built during the first decade of the century could not have been less than a million dollars. Twenty-five or more sailing vessels were launched from the shipyards of Marietta alone. The enterprise came to an end at about the time of the War of 1812.

[8] Dunbar, *History of Travel,* 296.
[9] Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 221.

Some have conjectured that the Embargo Act of 1808 discouraged the ship-builders of Ohio as it did those of the Eastern Seaboard. It seems more probable that the lack of working capital, particularly in the depression which followed the war, prevented the survival of the business.[10]

There is a fascination about the stories of these versatile ships. Take for example the career of the *Louisiana of Marietta,* owned by E. W. Tupper, one of the founders of Ohio's first settlement. She sailed in ballast early in 1803, taking on a cargo of cotton, hides, and staves at the mouth of the Cumberland, after the dangerous falls were past. She was a vessel of three hundred tons, and proved quite seaworthy. Although much delayed by contrary winds, she arrived safely at Norfolk, Virginia, her first destination. Here she shipped a new crew and sailed boldly for Liverpool. At Liverpool she was loaded with an English cargo for delivery at Trieste. The Italian officials at this port were incredulous when they examined the ship's papers. After being convinced that there was such a port of clearance as Marietta, they permitted her to return to Liverpool. At that port she was loaded with salt which in due time was delivered at Philadelphia. For years thereafter she was engaged in Atlantic commerce.

The building of such vessels involved a considerable financial risk. There was in the first place the problem of a paying cargo. Since the vessel was not designed to float *on* the water, after the manner of a flatboat, but rather *in* it, it was possible to pass the falls safely only on the crest of a freshet. Nor was it safe, even then, if the ship were fully laden. Cargoes of Kentucky tobacco and hemp, or of cotton from the lower river were more often carried than the standard flour and salt pork of the Ohio region. The profit from the enterprise lay largely in the sale of the vessel at some ocean port. No better demonstration of the difficulties and cost of freighting across the Alleghenies could be given than to

[10] A. B. Hulbert, "Western Ship-building," *American Historical Review* (New York), XXI (1915-16), 720-33; C. H. Ambler, *History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley* (Glendale, Calif., 1932), 98; T. M. Harris, *Journal of a Tour . . . ,* in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* III, 353.



15. MARIETTA BUILDINGS, 1825

Pencil sketch by S. P. Hildreth. From left to right: Two-horned Church, Tupper-Ward House, Court-house, Hildreth House. House at lower left is unidentified. Courtesy of Campus Martius Museum, Marietta.

point out that ships, which were built on the headwaters of the Ohio, undertook the hazards of both river and ocean in order to reach a destination which frequently was less than four hundred miles by land from the point of departure. These vessels, like the flatboats, never came back, but their departure was full of glory, and once upon the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, the world lay before them. Ships built of honest Ohio oak and walnut docked at ports as widely separated as Havana and St. Petersburg.

The early promise of prosperity for Ohio ship-builders called forth a mild exuberance from the editors of western papers. The following note appeared in the *Scioto Gazette* (Chillicothe), July 3, 1811: "We are happy to state, by the return of the pilot, Mr. Davis, that the ship, Three Sisters, owned by col. Simmons, and built at Alexandria, at the mouth of the Scioto River, has safely descended the Mississippi and arrived at New Orleans, whence she will sail for New York. This vessel (being 450 tons) is supposed to be the



16. TUPPER-WARD HOUSE, MARIETTA
Built in 1803. Courtesy of Frank J. Roos, Jr.

largest that ever descended the Ohio, and we cannot but congratulate the friends of commercial enterprise, upon the flattering prospects already exhibited in this part of the western country." Again one may quote from the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette,* April 15, 1816: "Came to anchor before this place Saturday, the Schr. "Maria," captain Lovell, of and from Marietta, O. bound for Boston with full cargo Pork, Flour and Lard. The "Maria" is upwards of 50 tons burthen, has 51 feet straight rabbit, 18 feet beam, and draws 6 ft. water. She was built, rigged, and loaded at Marietta and is owned by Messrs. Moses McFarland and Edmund B. Dana, the latter gentleman on board. She sailed hence yesterday. May prosperous gales waft her to her port of destination. As a Commercial and Exporting Co. is now formed at Marietta, this spirited enterprise we hope, is but the harbinger of others of greater magnitude." The same paper in the issue of July 22, noted that



17. HILDRETH HOUSE
Restoration by Jeanne Phillips Darby. Courtesy of Ohio State University, Department of Fine Arts.

word had been received of the safe arrival of the *Maria* at Baltimore, forty-six days out of Marietta. This would seem to have been an excellent run.

Such is the story, briefly reviewed, of the craft which were capable only of down-stream navigation. The *arks* nosed their way in to the bank at the point closest to the future homes of their occupants. The wagons were once more placed firmly on their wheels, and the families were off on further adventures. The *flatboats,* having achieved their destination, were unloaded, and the planking from which they were constructed was sold to the highest bidder. The *brigs and schooners,* having paid their respects at New Orleans, went down the river, never to be seen again by those who witnessed their launching. Men of means who accompanied the flatboats to New Orleans often took ship at that point for Philadelphia or some eastern port. From the Eastern Seaboard they made their way

overland to their homes in Ohio. As for the flatboatmen, they usually returned by water to Natchez, where they struck the famous, if not notorious, Natchez Trace, by which they made their way back to the Ohio region, with or without silver in their money-belts, as their adventures or characters determined.

Barges carrying as much as one hundred tons ascended the river from New Orleans to Cincinnati propelled almost solely by man-power.[11] This astounding fact would in itself demonstrate the lengths to which Ohioans were driven in the effort to break down their economic isolation. The barges were fitted with sails, to be sure, but the ceaseless meanderings of the river would make a favorable wind unfavorable at the next bend. The barges were the aristocrats of the river prior to the advent of the steamboat. In appearance they resembled a ship's long-boat or the small canal-boats of later times. In size they varied from seventy-five to one hundred feet in length and from fifteen to twenty feet in width. The central section of the vessel contained the huge "cargo-box" which was usually roofed over. At the stern of the vessel was a small cabin for the shelter of the patroon or steersman. This cabin had a raised roof upon which the helmsman sat to give direction to the crew. The barges ordinarily had two masts, though some had only one. Main reliance was placed on the large square sail forward, which brought welcome relief when the wind was in the right quarter. These vessels were commonly named when they were launched and if several belonged to one company, as was frequently the case, they were painted distinctively to identify the "line."

The barges, when they were first introduced, gave rise to high hopes for the future. Judge Jacob Burnet, who was thoroughly conversant with problems of pioneer commerce, states that their introduction marked an epoch in the history of the West.[12] The barges brought freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati for five or six cents a pound, which was considerably under the rate for shipment from the East by way of Pittsburgh. Contrary to popular belief, the

[11] E. C. Leahy, *Who's Who on the Ohio River* (Cincinnati, 1931), 45.
[12] Burnet, *Notes*, 400.

freight rates charged by the early steamboats were not much below this figure, especially during the period of transshipment at Louisville. The barges, which were able to ascend the falls, therefore continued to compete with the steamboats and were a factor in river commerce as late as the 1850's.

Judge Burnet attributes the introduction of commercial barges to two mercantile firms of Cincinnati: Baum and Perry, and Riddle, Bechtle and Company. Confirmation of the activity of these firms, as well as several others, may be found in the Cincinnati papers, which advertised the arrival of the barges and usually gave a list of their contents. The following notices are typical:

"Barge Cincinnati

"The subscribers have received notice that their barge Cincinnati, birthen about 70 tons, sailed from New Orleans on the 24th January, bound for Louisville and this place, where we expect her arrival early in April. Her cargo consists of superior quality

Spanish Hides
Logwood
Copperas
Brown Sugar
Coffee, etc, etc.

All of which will be offered low for cash, at their store, Corner of Front and Sycamore Streets, ———

"Baum and Perry" [13]

"The barge Triton, capt. Baum, arrived at Louisville on the 16th from New Orleans laden with 50 hhds. of Sugar for the account of Baum, Sloo and Co (owners). The principal part of the cargo is British goods, imported by Mr. J. Hunt. It is a remarkable fact that this is the 2nd voyage performed by the Triton this season, from Louisville to New Orleans and back, navigated in the usual manner, and we are informed that this is the first instance of a barge making two trips in the same season." [14]

[13] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Mar. 5, 1812.
[14] *Ibid.,* Dec. 2, 1816.

It has been estimated that the number of barges engaged in the Ohio River traffic at the time of the general introduction of steamboats, around 1818, was not over twenty, each of which was of about one hundred tons burden. The work of the barges was shared by the keel-boats of which there were probably at least one hundred fifty, each capable of carrying about thirty tons. The keel-boats received their name from the heavy timber, four inches square, which extended the entire length of the bottom. This feature of its construction was a great protection against the shock of collision with submerged rocks or trees. They were built after the pattern of boats which had long been used along the Atlantic. They were sharp enough in the lines of their hulls to respond readily to their rudders.

Every conceivable means, short of steam power, was used in the up-stream navigation of the barges and keels. Reference has already been made to the masts and sails which were ready for use when the winds were favorable. Principal reliance was placed, however, upon man-power, and both types of vessels were characterized by the narrow board walk set along the gunwales upon which the polemen stood as they struggled against the current.[15]

The barge, having disposed of its cargo of salt pork, flour, whiskey, and other up-country produce, shipped its load of sugar, coffee, dry-goods, dyestuffs, and other staples for the home market. The ascent of the three hundred miles from New Orleans to Natchez presented no other difficulties than the strength of the current and the occasional head winds. The 700-mile stretch from Natchez to the mouth of the Ohio on the other hand called for all the ingenuity and strength of the crew. The depth of the river prevented the use of the poles in the Mississippi, so reliance was placed on the process known as "cordelling." The cordelle was a heavy rope sometimes as long as a half-mile which was fastened high on the central mast of the vessel. Part of the crew went ashore and towed the barge, slowly, it must have been, for there was seldom a tow-path and the heavy undergrowth was a great hindrance. At

[15] Flint, *Letters from America,* 109.

times the cordelle was carried far ahead and fastened to some convenient tree or rock. The crew on board would then haul in the rope, either by hand or with the aid of a capstan. This method was known as "warping." The barges and keels kept close inshore, where the current was usually not so swift as in midstream.

The boatmen's most arduous work was at the "crossings." At each sharp bend of the river the current was usually swiftest at the inner curve. It was therefore an advantage to cross to the slower current of the opposite side. The boatmen hugged the shore below the bend, taking advantage of the usual eddy. The crew then took to the oars and rowed furiously against the current. At best they could barely hold their own and usually reached the opposite bank a quarter-mile or more below their point of departure. Old boatmen insisted that they crossed the river in this fashion over three hundred times between New Orleans and the mouth of the Ohio.

After the barge was safely upon the waters of the Ohio the poles came into use. The river was shallower and the river bed offered a solid footing for the steel-shod shafts. The method was simple enough, but was most laborious. An equal number of polemen took their places on the *passe-avants,* or foot-boards, on either side of the barge or keel. With their faces toward the stern they set their poles firmly in the river bed and, placing their shoulders to the end of the pole, they pushed the boat ahead. On reaching the end of the foot-plank they pulled up the pole and walked to the prow and repeated the process. When rapids were encountered, as at Louisville, both the skill and strength of the polemen were called forth, the prow of the barge must be headed directly into the swift current. If any one of the polemen missed his footing or failed to time the withdrawal of the pole, the boat might swerve and meet disaster in the racing water.[16]

The boatmen have often been portrayed in western annals as a foul-mouthed, whiskey-drinking lot of villains. One should remember, to their credit, that their shoulders were calloused from pushing cargoes of sugar, coffee and other luxuries for the gentler folk

[16] Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 185.

of the up-country. For a brief period their labors were indispensable to the comfort if not to the prosperity of Ohioans. As a group they have been immortalized in the figure of Mike Fink, a swaggering, fighting wastrel, who with his many vices and few virtues has, whether justly or unjustly, become the prototype of all western boatmen.[17]

A number of efforts were made, prior to the introduction of the steamboats, to lighten the heavy labor of up-stream navigation. There are early accounts of treadmills for both men and horses whereby vessels were propelled against the current. Fortescue Cuming, the English traveler, tells of seeing a horse-boat in operation. Six horses were hitched to an arrangement like a capstan in the center of the boat. The power was transmitted by means of a crown-gear and shaft to paddle-wheels. Cuming states that the vessel could travel at five or six miles per hour against the current. The only difficulty was that the horses could not endure the hard labor.[18] An item in the New Orleans *Gazette,* July 23, 1807, tells of a boat, propelled by a treadmill for horses, which loaded a cargo at New Orleans, with Louisville as its destination. The trip was begun but was never completed, for more than a dozen horses were exhausted by the treadmill before the boat had reached Natchez. The polemen, it was evident, were not to be relieved by horses.[19]

In all histories of western transportation and commerce, the introduction of the steamboat is emphasized as marking an epoch. One need not quarrel with a point of view so obvious, but should observe that neither one steamboat, nor a dozen, for that matter, could bring about an immediate revolution in the economic situation of Ohio. There is a justifiable, if somewhat antiquarian, interest in the voyage of the first steamboat from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in 1811, but the prosaic historian must concern himself with monopolies, freight rates, tonnages and such details, rather

[17] Walter Blair and F. J. Meine, *Mike Fink, King of the Mississippi Keelboatmen* (New York, 1933); Flint, *Letters from America,* 113.

[18] Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour . . . ,* in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* IV, 264.

[19] Quoted in Leahy, *Who's Who on the Ohio,* 60.

than with the romantic journey of the newly wedded Roosevelts.

Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston, after the *Clermont* had proved the practicability of steamboats, had visions of the immense profits which the invention would yield if they could obtain a monopoly for its use. The Mississippi River system did not escape their notice. A young associate, Nicholas J. Roosevelt, acting as their agent, arrived in Pittsburgh early in 1809 and shortly engaged passage for himself and bride on a New Orleans flatboat. In January, 1810, he was back in New York City with a full report on the navigability of the Ohio and Mississippi. Some months thereafter, when Governor William Charles Coles Claiborne of Louisiana Territory was in New York City, he was approached by Fulton and Livingston, who assured him that steamboats would revolutionize the commerce of the West, but that they would hesitate to invest the large sums necessary for their construction unless they were protected from competition by a monopoly. They desired nothing less than "the exclusive right to navigate the waters of the Mississippi, passing through the territory of Orleans, with boats propelled by steam. . . ." [20] As a result of this conversation the Louisiana legislature, on April 19, 1811, passed an act granting the monopoly for a limited time. As soon as word of this legislation reached New York, Nicholas Roosevelt, who was an engineer as well as a lawyer, was sent to Pittsburgh, together with several skilled workmen, to undertake the building of a steamboat. The *Orleans* (or *New Orleans*) was the result of their labors.

The characteristics of this first western steamboat have been the subject of much controversy, due in part to the vagueness of contemporary descriptions, and in part to the fact that a boat with the same name was built only four years later. A description may be hazarded without hope of settling the dispute.[21] From contemporary accounts she must have been a vessel of approximately 400

[20] Dunbar, *History of Travel,* 389; W. C. C. Claiborne, *Official Letter Books* (Jackson, Miss., 1917), V, 220; VI, 2-4.

[21] Leahy, *Who's Who on the Ohio,* 307, 389; Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 187; Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer,* Oct. 16, 1811; David Thomas *Travels through the Western Country* (Auburn, N. Y., 1819), 61.

tons, although Dunbar says 100. Her keel was possibly as long as 150 feet and her beam 20 feet. She was propelled by an engine with a 34-inch cylinder built after the English patent of Boulton and Watt. The preponderance of the evidence is that she was a side-wheeler, although this has been subject of much debate. The machinery was placed in the hold and commodious cabins were constructed upon the deck.

The *Orleans,* with Nicholas Roosevelt and his wife as the sole passengers, set forth on her momentous voyage on Sunday, October 20, 1811, accompanied by the best wishes, if not the optimistic prognostications of the citizens of Pittsburgh. She paused at Cincinnati to refuel, much to the edification of the people who lined the river banks. On reaching Louisville, one week out of Pittsburgh, the stage of the water at the falls compelled a delay, during which a return trip was made to Cincinnati in order to prove that the vessel could stem the current. Late in November the falls were passed without accident, and on January 10, 1812, she was heartily welcomed at New Orleans. The year 1811 was truly the *annus mirabilis* of the West. A spectacular comet brightened the sky and the whole Mississippi Valley was shaken by an earthquake at the very moment that the first steamboat made her way down the river.

The *Orleans* was the first of a number of steamboats built by the Fulton-Livingston interests. Their program was ambitious enough. They planned to divide the river route between Pittsburgh and New Orleans into a number of sections with one or more boats of appropriate size and power assigned to each. The original scheme, which never went into operation, provided for transfer of passengers and cargoes at Natchez, Smithland, Louisville, and Cincinnati. In accordance with this plan the *Orleans* entered into the commerce between New Orleans and Natchez. A second vessel, the *Vesuvius,* intended for the Natchez-Louisville section, was constructed at Pittsburgh in 1814, but the *Orleans* was sunk by a snag near Baton Rouge during the summer of 1814 and the *Vesuvius* took her place in the lucrative Natchez-New Orleans trade. Subsequently the Fulton interests built the *Aetna* (1814) which entered

the Natchez-Louisville trade, and the *Buffalo* (1816), a smaller boat which was intended for the trade between Louisville and Pittsburgh. In 1816 the *New Orleans* was constructed with approximately the same tonnage as the original *Orleans*. She entered into the commerce on the lower Mississippi, where she met the same fate as her namesake after being in service for three years. The rapid improvement in steamboat construction made the sectioning of the river unnecessary. The Falls at Louisville, however, compelled the transfer of cargoes of practically all steamboats at this point until the canal came into service after 1828.

The building of steamboats required a considerable outlay of money. The *Orleans* is said to have cost approximately $38,000. A corporation known as "The Ohio Steam-Boat Navigation Company," probably with a New York charter, was formed to raise the capital necessary for the extension of the Fulton-Livingston program. David D. Tompkins, governor of New York, Robert Livingston, De Witt Clinton, Robert Fulton, and Nicholas Roosevelt, were the incorporators. An elaborate advertisement of the company, offering shares of stock at $100.00 appeared in *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati) in the issue of November 20, 1811, shortly after the *Orleans* had demonstrated her prowess. While this company was to build boats specifically for the Pittsburgh-Louisville traffic, it is clear that capital was sought in New Orleans for a similar purpose on the Mississippi. Edward Livingston, brother of the chancellor, apparently acted as agent for the company. The most valuable asset of these promoters was the monopoly which they had been granted by Louisiana, since their patent rights on the steamboat itself were not invulnerable. This monopoly was broken, as every student of American history is aware, by the case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (1824). The Hudson River Monopoly was declared void by this famous decision. The history of the breaking of a similar monopoly in the West is not so generally known.

Captain Henry Miller Shreve is the hero of this episode in the history of western commerce. It was the opinion of his contemporaries that he was second only to Robert Fulton in the importance

of his contribution to the development of steamboat traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi. Shreve, born in New Jersey in 1785, was living at Brownsville, on the Monongahela, at the time of the building of the *Orleans*. He had become prosperous in the keelboat business and is said to have been among the first to engage in the lead trade between St. Louis and the mines on the upper Mississippi. Because of his first-hand acquaintance with the difficulties of up-stream navigation it was natural that he should have been greatly interested in the early steamboats. Although both the *Orleans* and the *Vesuvius* could make headway against the current, it will be recalled that both of these vessels operated in the waters of the lower Mississippi. During the first three years after the launching of the *Orleans* there had been no conclusive demonstration of the usefulness of steamboats to the Ohio Valley.[22]

Daniel French, in 1809, had received a patent for a stern-wheeled steamboat propelled by an engine with vibrating cylinders. Shreve became a partner in a project for building a small vessel after French's plan. The ship, called the *Enterprize,* was placed in his command on her first voyage down the river. The descent was undertaken in December, 1814, and Shreve arrived at New Orleans in time to be of valuable service to Andrew Jackson in his famous victory over the British. Shreve actually took his vessel past the British lines under the cover of darkness, carrying supplies to Fort St. Philip. After the battle he took a ship-load of British prisoners to the gulf, exchanging them for Americans.

In May, 1815, Shreve, who had great confidence in his little ship, determined to ascend the river to Louisville, a feat which had never been accomplished. He started on May 6, and arrived on May 31, twenty-five days out from New Orleans. The secondary accounts which refer to the achievements of Shreve as captain of the *Enterprize* say nothing of the next stage in his momentous journey. He ascended the falls and took his vessel on to Pittsburgh! In a long and excellent article appearing in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati*

[22] Leahy, *Who's Who on the Ohio,* 354-64; sketch and bibliography in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-36).

Gazette, August 3, 1819, the detailed history of a number of early steamboats is given. The paragraph having to do with the *Enterprize* is quoted in its entirety:

"The *Enterprize,* 45 tons, built at Brownsville, Pa. on the Monongahela, by Danl. French, under his patent, and owned by a company of that place. She made two voyages to Louisville in the summer of 1814, under the command of capt. I. Gregg. On the 1st December she took in a cargo of ordnance stores at Pittsburg, and sailed for New-Orleans, commanded by capt. H. M. Shreve, and arrived at New Orleans on the 14th of the same month. She was then despatched up the river in search of two keel-boats, laden with small arms, which had been delayed on the river. She got 12 miles above Natchez, where she met the keels, took their masters and cargoes on board and returned to New-Orleans; having been but six and an half days absent; in which time she run 624 miles. She was then, for some time, actively employed in transporting troops, &c. She made one voyage to the Gulph of Mexico as a cartel; and one voyage to the Rapids of Red River with troops; and nine voyages to Natchez and set out for Pittsburg on the 6th of May, and arrived at Shippingport on the 30th, 25 days out, being the first steamboat that ever arrived at that port from New-Orleans. She then proceeded to Pittsburg and the command was given to D. Worley, who lost her in Rock Harbor at Shippingport."

This one account might well be questioned but the following news item appearing in the same Cincinnati paper, July 31, 1815, two months after the *Enterprize* reached Louisville on her first voyage, proves that Shreve brought his ship past the falls:

"The Steamboat Enterprize

Arrived at this place on the 20th inst. in four days from Pittsburg, and sailed the same evening for Louisville, (as noticed in our last) which place she reached on the next day; and on the 26th inst. she again arrived at this port, having made the trip from Cincinnati to Louisville and back, a distance of 160 miles, in 58 running hours. She departed on the 27th for Pittsburg."

The reader has noted that the *Enterprize* was a small vessel, displacing by all accounts a mere 45 tons. It was by no means impossible for a vessel of this weight to have ascended the rapids at Louisville, although it is an excellent proof of the stamina of her engine. Steamboats of heavier displacement seldom duplicated this feat, the risk was too great for the large investments which were involved. The following news item from a Cincinnati paper of March 2, 1822, is ample proof that it was not impossible to stem the rapids in time of freshets. The largest of the vessels mentioned, the *Paragon,* had a burden of over 300 tons. "The sudden and unexpected rise in the Ohio river had enabled the largest class of Steam Boats to ascend the Falls at Louisville. Within a few days past the Paragon, the Car of Commerce and the Exchange, have arrived at this place from below. On Thursday the Paragon, having taken in her load, departed for New Orleans, and the Car of Commerce on Friday. The Exchange is still taking in her cargo." [23]

Encouraged by his success with the *Enterprize,* Shreve decided to build a larger boat, embodying certain improvements of his own invention. The result was the *Washington,* which was by all odds the most important of the early river boats. With the launching of this ship, in September, 1816, the experimental stage in river steamboats may be said to have ended; the commercial possibilities of the invention were, in any case, fully demonstrated. The improvements which Shreve introduced were almost universally adopted by later boat-builders. His principal innovation was in engine design.[24] The Fulton engines were usually of the so-called "steeple" pattern, in other words they were mounted vertically, as was usual with the Watt and Boulton type. Most of the early engines worked with a pressure not exceeding twenty pounds, exhausting steam into the air at the end of each stroke, although they seem to have been equipped with condensers. French's engine worked with higher pressure, which probably accounts for the phenomenal success of the *Enterprize.* The weakness of his engine was in the

[23] *Liberty Hall,* Mar. 2, 1822.
[24] Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 193.

movement of the cylinders with each revolution of the crankshaft. This defect was remedied by Shreve who bolted his engine firmly in a horizontal position, imparting motion to the crank-shaft by means of a pitman. He also invented a cam cut-off, which conserved steam and gave greater power to his engine in relation to weight than any previous type.

Contemporary newspapers were enthusiastic in their praise of the *Washington*. The following description, for example, appeared in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* (September 23, 1816):

"*The Steam Boat Washington,* the arrival of which we had the pleasure of announcing last week, sailed on Wednesday noon for N. Orleans via Louisville and Natchez, with freight and passengers. This elegant vessel, while here, attracted the admirations of thousands, who when crowding her decks and cabins, seemed to vie with each other in bestowing the meed of praise upon the accommodations. In truth, she is perhaps the finest vessel on the western waters. She is frigate built; 345 tons measurement; extreme length 150 feet and 24½ feet beam. She has 6 feet hold, which enables her to carry 200 tons of cargo and 6 feet between decks the latter space comprehending the cabins and bar room. The main cabin is 60 feet long, containing 40 double births, and is lighted and aired by 20 ports, or windows, each about 20 inches square. Adjoining this are the captain's cabin and bar room, and the ladies' cabins. The latter consist of a bed chamber and parlour; the whole handsomely furnished and carpeted. But no *description* can equal a *view* of these well finished, well lighted, well aired, clean and spacious apartments, and we cannot forbear expressing our gratification at beholding what we had so long ardently desired to see: a steamboat that should reflect credit on the enterprize, wealth, and industry of the West.

"The engine of the Washington, it is well known, is on a different plan from the others: the boilers being placed on deck. Notwithstanding, it possesses great power. Acting upon a single wheel placed in the stern, without beam or fly wheel, it propels the vessel at the rate of 10 miles per hour with the current—and the

captain assured us that he could make seven miles per hour against the current."

The feature in the construction of the *Washington* which met with special favor among later boat-builders was the placing of the engine on the deck rather than in the hold, which released a large space for the cargo. The arrangement of the cabins, made possible by the building of a double deck, was a common feature of later vessels, and the construction of the engine was also widely copied. One authority states that the machinery developed by Shreve for the *Washington* weighed only one-twentieth as much as the model used by Fulton and consumed not more than one-half as much fuel.

Spectacular as was the *Washington* in appearance, her performance was even more brilliant. In her first two trips from Louisville to New Orleans, she is said to have paid her original cost, all the expenses of operation, and returned a net profit of $17,000. In her first return trip she equalled the record of twenty-five days set by the *Enterprize*. On her second trip she made the round trip in forty-one days, including the delay at New Orleans. This achievement by a vessel of such size was heralded throughout the Ohio Valley as presaging the brightest future for the commerce of the up-country.

But more important than Shreve's accomplishments as a boat designer and captain, in the eyes of Ohioans, was the fact that he successfully contested the monopoly rights of the Livingston-Fulton Company in the lower Mississippi, entering a suit which promised to completely break their special privileges. The story is a long one, and only a summary can be given here.

Edward Livingston, on behalf of the New York company, had entered suit against Shreve for the violation of the monopoly at the time he had brought the *Enterprize* to New Orleans. This matter was still pending at the time of his arrival with the *Washington*. Shreve was not only ready, but apparently eager, to try the legality of the monopoly. On his first appearance in the southern port in command of the *Washington,* he was warned by

Livingston that although he deserved the praise of his country for the perfection of his ship, the company which Livingston represented would try to beat him in the courts. On his second trip he was arrested, but was released through the personal intervention of Livingston, who may have been impressed by the mob of rivermen which rapidly collected with the intention of freeing Shreve. It was reported that Livingston offered Shreve a share in the company's privileges if he would arrange with his lawyers to permit the company to win the suit. The *Washington* was at first detained through legal action of Livingston's, but it was released when the courts ruled that his company must post bond to cover the loss to Shreve if the case were decided in Shreve's favor. The court refused to hear the case of the *Washington* until the similar suit involving the *Enterprize* had been decided. The monopoly thereupon dropped both suits for the time but returned to the attack the following year. In April, 1817, a series of trials were heard before Judge Dominick Augustin Hall of the United States District Court in New Orleans in which the company demanded the forfeiture of three boats, one of which was the *Washington,* and the payment of $5000 for each act of infringement. Hall dismissed the suits on the ground of lack of jurisdiction. Although his decision seems inconclusive, it was hailed as a victory by the independents. There is no evidence that the company seriously threatened their competitors thereafter. The case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (1824), as is well known, brought an end to the schemes of the monopolists. A long chapter could be written on the display of public resentment, both in Ohio and Kentucky, against the monopoly. So angry had the people of the Ohio River grown over the issue, that it is small wonder that Shreve was hailed as a great public benefactor.[25]

Shreve well deserves to be rescued from the comparative oblivion into which he has fallen. His service to the river boatmen did not end with the building of the *Washington* nor with his vic-

[25] W. F. Gephart, *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West,* Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* XXXIV, no. 1 (New York, 1909) 74.



18. CINCINNATI IN 1820
Courtesy of Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.

tory over the monopoly. One might speak at length of his additions to steamboat design. The hurricane-deck, for example, had its inception with the *G. Washington* which he built at Cincinnati in 1825. He was also the pioneer in the removal of snags from the Ohio and Mississippi. He was authorized by the Federal Government to construct a snag-boat after a design of his own invention. This boat, which was christened the *Heliopolis,* proved most efficient in removing the worst of all the hazards to river-craft. Somewhat later he broke up the obstruction known as the "Red River raft," an enormous accumulation of driftwood in the lower part of that river. The city of Shreveport, named for him, grew up at the spot where he established his camp while engaged in this herculean task.

If the charge should be made that too much attention has been given to the achievements of Henry M. Shreve, the following sta-

tistics, somewhat startling, may be offered by way of defense. According to data compiled by James Hall in 1837, there were only nine steamboats constructed in the West in the years 1811–16 inclusive. Eight more were built in 1817, *twenty-nine* in 1818, and *thirty* in 1819.[26] It is not unfair to conclude, in view of contemporary evidence, that the success both financial and mechanical of Shreve's *Washington,* coupled with the breaking of the monopoly, in which he had so active a part, were the primary causes of this phenomenal development of steamboat-building. Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were active competitors in the new industry. During the years 1811–25 inclusive, thirty-three steamboats were launched in Pittsburgh and twenty-six were constructed in Cincinnati, while Wheeling came third with six vessels.

An idea of the growing importance of the steamboat in river commerce may be gained from statistics kept at New Orleans. During the year 1814, steamboats unloaded slightly more than 2,000 tons, while barges and flatboats brought more than 90,000 tons down the river. In 1821 the steamboats in 287 arrivals deposited nearly 55,000 tons, thereby surpassing the barges and flatboats which unloaded 53,000 tons. The steamboats accomplished a great saving in man-power at a time when labor was both scarce and costly. A New Orleans newspaper, viewing the situation in 1823, estimated that the steamboats then in operation totalled about 14,000 tons and employed close to 1,000 men. These vessels, the writer was certain, could accomplish as much as 20,000 men could have done using barges and flatboats.[27]

Significant as was the growth in steamboat traffic, one must bear in mind that it served only the river towns. The interior settlements such as Dayton, Chillicothe, and Zanesville were benefited only indirectly. Flatboats loaded with farm produce of the Miami, Scioto, and Muskingum valleys continued to find their way to the New Orleans market until well within the railroad era. As roads improved between the inland counties and the Ohio River ports,

[26] James Hall, *Statistics of the West . . .* (Cincinnati, 1837); *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 3, 25, 1819.
[27] Switzler, "Internal Commerce," 27.

wagoners engaged in hauling country produce to the waiting steamboats. Eventually the Ohio canals came to serve the same purpose.

The usefulness of the inland waters of the State was hampered by the usual hazards of sunken logs and sand bars, and also by man-made obstructions such as mill-dams and bridges. The legislature early took action with regard to the dams, requiring that "slips" should be provided, where navigable streams were dammed, in order that flatboats could pass the obstructions.[28] Public spirited men, such as Thomas Worthington, urged cooperative effort for improving the navigation of the inland rivers. As late as 1822 Worthington presented figures to prove that the cost of shipping 400 barrels of flour on a flatboat from Chillicothe to Portsmouth, approximately 100 miles, would be about forty-four cents a barrel if insurance were included. From Portsmouth to New Orleans the cost per barrel would be about fifty-seven cents, although the distance was seventeen times as great. The difficulty in navigating the Scioto was almost entirely due to fallen trees and snags. He urged that these trees be sawed in time of low water in order that the channel might be cleared.[29]

Having surveyed the development of transportation by water, we may now turn to the problems of road-building and transportation by land. More than a century of continuous effort was required to complete a system of all-weather roads within the State. The chapter which follows will deal with the efforts made during the first decades of that century. The latter part of the chapter will summarize the development of Ohio commerce, with emphasis on the problems of the local merchants.

[28] Acts of Feb. 17, 1808, and Dec. 26, 1815.
[29] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* May 16, 1822.

CHAPTER VIII

The Building of Roads

THE Ohio road system, which is taken as a matter of course by the present-day traveler, is a monument to cooperative effort extending over a period of a century and a half. We can have little conception of the amount of energy expended, even in pioneer times, in conquering the mud which was a curse to those who were forced to take to the roads in the rainy season. There was urgent need from the standpoint of both State and Nation for roads leading to the westward. Ohioans were fully conscious of the strategic importance of their State in the opening of the West. "Placed at the threshold of the West, she is the point, whence all the avenues of internal improvement must radiate. The travellers of New Orleans, lake Superior, and the Columbia river will meet at her capital, and she will become the caravansera [*sic*] of millions of people. . . ."[1] So wrote an enthusiastic advocate of internal improvements in the early 1820's, giving expression to a point of view which many of his fellow citizens had long accepted as self-evident.

Road-building within the young State was made more than usually difficult by the fortuitous manner in which the first settlements were located. Marietta, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and later centers such as Dayton, Lancaster, Zanesville, and Cleveland, were laid out as unrelated enterprises. To connect them all with a system of good wagon-roads was beyond the capacity of the pioneers. By way of contrast one may point to the gradual westward movement of population in the seaboard states which enabled the builders of highways to keep fairly abreast of the newer settlements.

[1] Communication signed "Wayne," Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Gazette,* Sept. 21, 1822.



MAP 6. MAIN-TRAVELED ROADS, 1820
From information in John Kilbourn, *The Ohio Gazetteer* (Columbus, 1819).

As Ohio grew in population certain well-defined districts took shape. To the north was the Western Reserve whose connections were largely determined by Lake Erie. A second district was the eastern section bordering on Pennsylvania. Three more districts were determined by the valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto, and the Miami rivers. All save the Western Reserve were dependent at the outset upon the Ohio River for their contacts with the outside

world. As the wedges of settlement were driven farther into the interior, the need for improvement of land connections became imperative. The laying out of roads was rendered more difficult by the fact that the areas of settlement were at right angles to the Ohio, which meant that the roads must traverse the ridges and valleys cut by its tributaries. An examination of a physiographic map will show that the roads running east and west, clearly of the first importance to the early settlers, were much more difficult to build than those running north and south.[2]

Little progress had been made, even in the location of highways, prior to 1803. Zane's Trace had been opened only six years earlier and remained virtually the only road of any length within the State. It was barely passable for wagons, although it served well enough for pack-horses.[3] The location of roads had a tremendous bearing on land values, as Zane himself well understood. One might wish that the roads of the growing State could have been located by legislators whose viewpoint was purely objective, but the temptation was too great. There is abundant evidence, although the story would be too tedious to tell here, that the appointment of road commissioners and the location of roads were often accompanied by political jobbery.[4]

It will be recalled that an understanding had been reached at the time of Ohio's admission which provided that three per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of public land within the State was to be used for building roads within Ohio. A study of the legislative record of the handling of this money shows that it was largely expended for locating or "laying out" roads rather than for their construction. Sectional jealousies within the State compelled the distribution of the sum among all the counties. The consequence

[2] General accounts include W. F. Gephart, *Transportation and Industrial Development of the Middle West* (New York, 1909); C. E. McGill and others, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1917); and the various works of A. B. Hulbert.

[3] C. L. Martzolff, "Zane's Trace," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XIII (1904), 320.

[4] Among abundant evidence the following letters indicate the early trend: Nathaniel Massie to Thomas Worthington, "Falls of Paint," Jan. 23, 1804; William Creighton, Jr., to *id.*, Chillicothe, Mar. 5, 1804; *id.* to Samuel Huntington, Chillicothe, Apr. 26, 1809, MSS. (in Ohio State Library).

of this policy was to spread the money so thinly that the resulting improvements were almost imperceptible. An alternative scheme of concentrating on certain trunk highways was apparently never tried. The sums available from this source were fairly large. In the year 1815, for example, the State treasurer had received $40,000. The total appropriation for State expenses for that year was barely five times that amount.[5] In his message to the General Assembly, delivered in December, 1815, Governor Thomas Worthington criticized the "electioneering intrigue" which had accompanied the distribution of the three per cent. fund. He was strongly of the opinion that the sum of $172,925.00 which the State had received up to that year had been largely wasted through the policy of equal distribution. He suggested that the fund be allowed to accumulate for a time and then be used for the improvement of "the principal and more useful" roads of the State. His suggestion was not put into practise.

To bring the vicissitudes of the land traveler into sharp perspective it may be well to quote at length from an account written in 1808.[6] Young Samuel Williams, who was for years a secretary to Edward Tiffin, had been delegated to inform Stephen Wood, who lived near Cincinnati, that he had been chosen as a Presidential elector. Although it was November, a journey between two of the largest settlements in Ohio would not seem to have been an arduous undertaking, but here is the account:

"Thursday November 17, 1801. Left Chillicothe this forenoon on a tour to Cincinnati, to notify Stephen Wood of his election as one of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. In the evening reached the house of Thomas Dill, about half a mile below the crossing of Paint Creek, sixteen miles from Chillicothe, and put up for the night, Friday 18th. Started early, and passing Bainbridge, proceeded eight miles to Nathaniel Willis's at 'Willis's Cross Roads', and breakfasted. Mr. Willis was formerly

[5] Gephart, *Transportation in the Middle West,* 133f.

[6] Samuel Williams, Journal, MS. Extracts quoted here may be found in his "Leaves from an Autobiography," *Ladies' Repository* (Cincinnati), XVI (1856), 22ff.

editor and proprietor of the 'Scioto Gazette', newspaper, published in Chillicothe. After selling out there he settled on this farm, and kept public house. In the afternoon passed through the village of New Market, and some time before night reached the cabin of Mr. Porter; where, finding that it was fifteen miles to the next house, I remained till morning.

"Friday, 19th. Set off very early, having nineteen miles to ride before breakfast, and very soon I entered the 'White Oak Swamp', which continued for thirteen miles. The mire in the road was so deep that I found it impossible to pursue it without sticking fast, and had, therefore, to abandon it, and press through the dense and brushy forest on one side or the other. While in the midst of the swamp a violent storm of rain, with lightning and thunder, arose, which continued for two hours, the rain falling in torrents all the time. Of course I was thoroughly wet, and even the feet of my boots were filled with water. Reached Williamsburg about noon and breakfasted, and dried my clothes as well as I could, and proceeded on my journey, intending to reach Newton, eighteen miles, before dark. But night overtook me five miles short of the town, and I had to plow through the mud, slowly and carefully, the darkness being so great that no object was visible save the opening through the tree-tops overhanging the road on either side. Stopped for the remainder of the night at a mean, dirty tavern, kept in a dilapidated, unpainted little frame house on the south side of the main street in Newtown, the only public house, I believe, in the place.

"Sunday, 20th. When I left home on Thursday, I expected to have reached Cincinnati yesterday afternoon, and could have done so but for the rains and muddy roads. But rather than spend the Sabbath in such an uncomfortable and filthy hovel, I determined this morning to push on to Cincinnati, ten miles further. Set off at an early hour, and on reaching the Little Miami river, two miles distant, I found it so swollen with the heavy rains of yesterday as to be past fording. There being no ferry boat nearer than the mouth of the river, about four miles below, I was obliged to clamber

along the steep hillside and through densely wooded bottom, there being no road opened, and not even a path. Being ferried over, I proceeded on through Columbia, and reached Cincinnati about eleven o'clock, and put up at Carpenter's inn. Here I learn that Mr. Wood, for whom I have the Governor's notice of his election, is expected in town today or tomorrow. . . ."

The roads, so-called, must have been unspeakably bad if, as in the case of young Williams, it was safest to avoid them in the muddy season. In later years, after railroads had made their appearance in Ohio, old men were led to reminiscence by the contrast in modes of travel, old and new. A pioneer of Medina County was brought to the point of writing poetry, and rather bad poetry, so sharp was his realization of the changes which time had wrought.[7] He urged his readers to look about them and be properly thankful that times had changed:

"And we question if they can fully believe,
The things which their senses so fully perceive.
Let them look at highways now leading about,
In contrast with the roads on which they came out.

"Winding out then in a single direction;
Running round now to ev'ry mile section;
Guided then by spots on the trees blazed awide;
Guided now by fences along either side.

"Then full of turns, roots and holes, everywhere:
Now, straight, well bridged, cast up and graded with care;
Now, the carriage with wheels glides smoothly away;
Then, 'twas lifting, tipping and plunging all day:

"Now straight, smooth iron roads are much in employ;
Then, our mi'ry swamps were bridged with corduroy;
Then, ten miles a day was oft with hardship won;
Now, five hundred miles a day are easy run.

[7] Ephraim Lindley, in N. B. Northrop, comp., *Pioneer History of Medina County* (Medina, O., 1861), 26f., 49.

"The few roads were then muddy, rough and crooked,
Used seldom by teams, but frequently footed,
Our swales and our swamps with cross-logs were laid,
With chinking between covered with dirt by a spade."

And so on for twelve stanzas.

The State assumed little responsibility for roads beyond the expenditure of the three per cent. fund, and the passage of legislation for the instruction of county commissioners. Grandiose schemes were evolved at the capital for a system of State highways, but the actual work of road-building was supervised by county officials. The initial steps in locating new roads make an interesting study in the practise of democracy. Assuming that one had settled in a frontier county, how might one join with neighbors in opening a new road? To start with, there must be a petition with twelve interested citizens as signers, stating the route to be covered by the proposed road. Next, a notice must be posted telling the public of the enterprise. The petition must be submitted to the county commissioners at one of their quarterly meetings, and, if the county fathers approved, they appointed a committee of three disinterested citizens who, together with a surveyor, "viewed" the route and made a report. On hearing the report the commissioners rendered their decision. If favorable, the route was declared a public highway with a width up to sixty feet. Any citizens from the affected area who were opposed to the opening of the road were permitted to voice their objections to the commissioners.[8]

While the commissioners had general supervision over the roads of the county it appears that the work of building and repairing highways was largely in charge of supervisors appointed by the township trustees. Every able-bodied citizen of twenty-one years of age or over was obliged by the Act of 1809 to give two days of work each year on the roads of his community. He was privileged to pay a dollar a day or hire a substitute in lieu of such service. The supervisor was given power to requisition both men and teams

[8] Act of Feb. 20, 1809; superseded by Act of Feb. 16, 1816.

when he considered them necessary. The county commissioners had the authority to levy an assessment for roads in addition to the general tax when there was an imperative need for funds. County expenditures seem ridiculously small, even for those times. Ross County, for example, appropriated only ninety dollars for the purpose in the year 1813–14.[9] There is no way of checking the appropriations of the townships, but one may be sure that labor rather than money was the principal expenditure.



19. DEPARTURE FOR OHIO
From S. G. Goodrich (Peter Parley), *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York, 1856).

Those who traveled the roads of early Ohio must have been sorely tried by the endless succession of stumps and mud holes, but the tedium was surely relieved by the necessity of crossing streams, each of which presented a distinct problem. The roads and trails led to the fords or to the ferries, for bridges were so infrequent as to be a matter of special wonder. ~~Timothy~~ Flint described a bridge which he crossed in Highland County as "nothing more than two long trees thrown over the stream, about eight feet apart, with split or round pieces of timber laid across these, side by side."[10] The approaches to such bridges were frequently so abrupt as to be entirely unsuitable for heavily-loaded wagons. Ferries were usually more dependable and were the sole means of crossing the larger streams.

[9] Report of the treasurer of Ross County, Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Sept. 24, 1814.

[10] James Flint, *Letters from America . . .* , in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), IX, 302.

The keepers of ferries were licensed as early as 1810 and were expected to conform to a rather rigid code.[11] The boat, in the first place, must be "good and sufficient," and must be available to travelers from daylight to dark. Foot passengers could not be charged more than ten cents, a man with a horse twice that amount, while the driver of a loaded wagon must surrender one dollar for the privilege of crossing. At such fees ferry-keeping was a fairly lucrative business and rivalry developed among the operators. Advertisements of the merits of the various crossings were fairly frequent in the early newspapers. The following example, selected at random, appeared in the *Supporter* (Chillicothe), December 21, 1811:

"New Ferry

"The subscriber informs the public that he has opened a FERRY at his Mill, on the Scioto (formerly owned by Joseph Campbell) one mile and a half below Chillicothe, where the inhabitants residing on Salt and Walnut creeks will find it an advantageous place to cross. Persons travelling this road may depend upon being punctually attended, as he has procured an excellent boat for the purpose.

"John Gillmore"

Ferry owners were required by law to give special consideration to carriers of the United States mail. Not only must they be transported without cost but the ferry must be available to them both day and night. Much has been written of the pony express and the role which it played in the later West, but little attention has been given to earlier carriers of the mail, who rode by day and night through all kinds of weather in order that the settlers in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys might keep in touch with the Eastern Seaboard. In the period before 1815, to give an approximate date, the bulk of the Ohio mail was carried by men on horseback. The stage-coaches took over the business as the roads became passable.

Much attention was given in the early years of statehood to the

[11] Act of Feb. 8, 1810.

location of mail-routes. There may have been a mistaken impression that the Federal Government would aid in the improvement of such routes, but more probably there was the simple desire for speedy mail service, which at best was slow enough. Partisan politics played its part in the location of these routes and in the selection of the men who carried the mail. Gideon Granger, Jefferson's postmaster-general, was charged with favoring the Western Reserve. An irritated citizen of Steubenville complained to Worthington, in 1811, that the Reserve had twenty post-offices and numerous post-roads, while Jefferson County with a larger population had only two offices. He suggested that Granger's investments in land in the Reserve might explain his favoritism.[12]

The mail service, even in the earlier years, was a more extensive business than one might assume. In 1807 the mail arrived in Cincinnati five times weekly, twice from the East, and once from the North, South, and West.[13] An advertisement asking for proposals for the carrying of mail in Ohio, published in 1814, lists no fewer than eighty-two established routes within the State.[14] Postal rates were determined by both weight and distance. The charge on a single sheet ranged from six cents, for distances under thirty miles, to twenty-five cents for distances over four hundred. Additional sheets increased the charges proportionately. Postmasters were not required to accept matter weighing over three pounds. Newspapers were carried to any point within the state of origin for one cent.[15]

Two postmasters-general appointed from Ohio, R. J. Meigs, Jr., and John McLean, controlled the development of the postal service in the formative years from 1814 to 1828, the period of tremendous western expansion. No comment need be made here on the administrative abilities shown by these two men; the consensus of opinion is that McLean was the more capable of the two.[16] Both were

[12] Benjamin Tappan to Worthington, Steubenville, Nov. 22, 1811, Worthington MSS.

[13] *Liberty Hall*, Jan. 20, 1807.

[14] *Supporter*, July 6, 1814.

[15] Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals . . . of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), 373.

[16] F. P. Weisenburger, *Life of John McLean, a Politician on the United States Supreme Court* (Columbus, 1937), 31ff.

freely criticized in Ohio and elsewhere. If the mail arrived late, as it frequently did, angry newspaper editors who had been compelled to hold up publication for want of news, would spend their enforced leisure in composing editorials of unkind comment. Growing towns were always resentful if they were not placed on one of the important mail routes. Franklinton, for example, through an editorial mouthpiece, commented on the stupidity of routing the western mail over the Granville-Worthington "bridle-path," when it was obvious that the better route to Urbana lay through Franklinton.[17] The Newark-Columbus road, as a matter of fact, was notoriously bad, and as late as 1822, a mail-carrier was drowned while attempting to ford Big Walnut (or Big Belly) Creek, almost within sight of the capital.[18]

Inefficient postmasters of neighboring villages were at times excoriated for delaying or losing important mail. A Worthington editor paid his respects to the postmaster of Delaware in the following language: "The *Post Master* at *Delaware,* is requested to take a little better care of the papers deposited in that office; that our subscribers may have less reason to complain of not receiving them. We are credibly informed that an almost total neglect of the post office duties is discovered on entering the room wherein it is kept; that not only papers are suffered to be destroyed, or distributed among those citizens to whom they do not belong, but that even *letters* are taken but indifferent care of. Complaints have become so frequent and loud, and the neglect being a serious injury to us, we could not longer refrain from noticing it. Many of our subscribers in Marlborough township have actually withdrawn their subscriptions avowedly on this account; some declaring that they would as soon deposit any thing for safety in a *pig-sty* as in this office, and that they are unwilling to pay for papers to pave the streets of Delaware with. . . ." [19]

Land travel, whether for carrying of mail or the hauling of freight, could not be greatly expedited until public opinion was

[17] Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer,* Aug. 7, 1812.
[18] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* Dec. 12, 1822.
[19] *Western Intelligencer,* Sept. 8, 1813.

aroused to support a program of road-building. Turnpike companies, organized by the score, gave promise of solving the problem, but the depression of 1819 delayed their activity. Newspaper editors urged community action, insisting that mere talk would not fill mud holes. The eastward connections of the rapidly growing city of Columbus were far from satisfactory. The campaign for their improvement may be summarized here as illustrative of movements which were doubtless duplicated in many other communities.

Prior to the building of the National Road, the principal route to the eastward from Columbus led first to Newark, where one might choose either the Zanesville road or the route leading northeastward by way of Mt. Vernon. In 1817 the Franklin Turnpike Company, with $30,000 capital, was chartered for the purpose of improving the Columbus-Newark road. It was stated in the articles of incorporation that, while work on the road need not start for two years, it must be completed by 1825. The Columbus *Gazette* in July of 1818, commenced a vigorous campaign for action in view of the "sleeping spirits of certain turnpike directors." In an article signed "A Traveller," whom one suspects of having been the editor, the route from Painesville, on Lake Erie, to Columbus is briefly described.[20] "From Painesville to Ravenna (43 miles) 25 miles is of the worst description." From Ravenna, by way of Canton, Coshocton, and Newark, to Granville (122 miles) a stage might run with very little improvement of the road. The last twenty-six miles from Granville to Columbus was described as "almost impassable." The Columbus-Cincinnati road was being improved so greatly that it would be ready for stage-coaches by the following summer. The "traveller" concludes with this appeal: "I have no doubt that in two years stages would be running from Boston to Cincinnati (via Buffalo) if it were not for one lamentable circumstance, the lack of a sufficient quantum of spirit, energy and enterprise among the citizens of Franklinton, Columbus, Worthington, Granville and Newark, to make 20 miles of turnpike road, so essential to the advancement of their interests and prosperity."

[20] Columbus *Gazette,* July 30, 1818.

In October, 1818, the editor, with a great show of enthusiasm announced that a meeting of citizens of Franklin and Licking counties would be held at Robert Russell's Tavern in Columbus for the purpose of adopting some measures for the improvement of roads:

"Many persons are very confident, that a good road may be immediately made from Columbus to Granville, if the citizens generally in this, and Licking county, will voluntarily contribute two days labor each.

"There is no doubt that almost every man in this county would cheerfully give two days work to accomplish an object which will instantly bring a great accession of *men, and money* among us. Let us *unanimously* then turn out in about three weeks—let the citizens of the two counties, be divided into parties of ten; let every party improve a mud hole; or build a bridge. . . . It is possible that it may be determined, to unite with the people of Fairfield county, and improve the road to Lancaster, as it can be done with much less labor than the Granville road." [21]

Alas for the editor and his enthusiasm! The response to his appeal was either insufficient or the drainage of the mud holes was too great a task, for five years later, in the same Columbus paper, one reads identical appeals, first in March and again in August.[22] "It is hoped there will be a general turning out for the accomplishment of an object so long pursued. Mr. Ridgway of this town last week turned out himself with his teams and hands, and labored four days on this road near Dean's. . . . This is public spirit, Go ye, &c, &c." With the cumulative effect of much individual effort the road was improved and in the spring of 1824 a stage line started operating between Zanesville and Dayton by way of Columbus over a highway which a few years before had been impassable.

Privately owned turnpike companies played a tremendous part in the building of Ohio's system of highways. Almost invariably

[21] *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1818.
[22] *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1823.

the history of these companies illustrates the paralyzing effects of the Panic of 1819 in Ohio. Although the first company was organized as early as 1809, the idea became popular some years later. In the General Assembly of 1816–17, for example, no less than twelve charters were granted. Stock was sold, preliminary surveys were run, and the clearing of timber was undertaken in many cases, when the panic brought a halt to most of the enterprises. Work was resumed in the early 'twenties and the improvement was quite perceptible by the middle of the decade. For many years thereafter the best roads of the State were operated for private profit.

Since the turnpike companies had their inception in the period of this study, and since the basic acts as to their regulation were passed then, some attention may be given to them although they played no great part in the solution of the problem of land travel prior to 1825. In the first place it must be obvious that turnpikes would not be projected in the more sparsely settled sections of the State. A list of the terminal cities of companies chartered in 1816–17 reveals this. Here is a partial list: Steubenville-Cadiz, Cambridge-Zanesville, Zanesville-Lancaster, Lancaster-Chillicothe, Cincinnati-Dayton, Cincinnati-Hamilton, Warren-Austinburg. It is a commentary on the sad state of Ohio roads that the General Assembly, and apparently the people of the State, were willing to grant monopolies to companies which agreed to improve some of the oldest roads in the State.

All the turnpike companies were organized under charters which were basically similar. The route to be followed was described quite specifically. The right of way was sixty-six feet wide of which thirty-three was to be cleared of brush and logs. "At least eighteen feet shall be made an artificial road composed of stone, gravel, wood or other convenient material well compacted together in such manner as to secure a firm, even and substantial road, rising in the middle with a gradual arch, and in no case shall the ascent in any such turnpike road be greater than five degrees." [23]

[23] Act of Jan. 7, 1817.

It was commonly provided that as soon as ten miles or more of the turnpike had been completed to the satisfaction of a special committee appointed to examine it, the company might erect toll gates, with the proviso that no gate should be erected within two miles of the centers of the terminal towns. The rates of toll were fixed in detail by the early charters. For each ten miles of travel, the driver of a four-wheeled vehicle with two horses must pay twenty-five cents; a man on horseback was charged at one-fourth this rate. Cattle driven along the road were charged at a rate of two cents for each ten miles, while sheep and hogs were assessed at the rate of twelve and one-half cents for twenty. Men on foot paid no toll, and all who traveled the road to church, to funerals, elections, or militia musters were likewise exempt. Wayward individuals who were tempted to take to the woods on approaching a toll-gate with the idea of avoiding the charge were discouraged by the five dollar fine to which they were liable.

Possibly the most significant clause in these lengthy charters provided for the ultimate purchase of the road by the county or State government. The companies were required to keep a complete account of original and current expenses, together with the receipts at the toll-gates. The county or State might at any time purchase the turnpike by paying a sum which, together with the tolls received, should equal the original cost and expenses plus twelve per cent. per year. It was under this, or a similar, arrangement that the roads ultimately became public property.

There was, of course, a shortage of capital for the building of these turnpikes. The paper money of local banks was taken in payment for the stock, which helps to explain why the Panic of 1819 dealt such a hard blow to the companies. While investment in the stock must ultimately have proved very profitable, the original stockholders must be credited with having been enthusiastic over the indirect rather than the direct rewards. This attitude is revealed in a letter written by Judge Calvin Pease of Warren to Governor Ethan A. Brown early in 1819. "Our turnpike road to Ashtabula is in a fair way to be compleated next season contracts

are made for the whole road and many miles of the grubbing and chopping was done last fall and if continued next summer with the same spirit the whole will be effected. This will be the first in the State, and I hope will be the means of producing many more. When such roads can be made for five hundred Dollars a mile, people ought not to be alarmed at the expense nor discouraged by the fear that the stock will not be profitable. I dont expect that our stock will yield us three per cent. for a few years, but our stockholders calculate upon other benefits which were almost the only inducement to subscribing." [24]

The building of bridges over the larger streams was frequently undertaken as private enterprises. Numerous charters for their incorporation may be found in the Acts of the General Assembly, particularly after 1815. Generally speaking these bridges were simply constructed with local stone and timber, although a bridge over the Scioto at Chillicothe, built under the direction of a Mr. Fox of Zanesville, used iron which was hammered out at the Rapid Forge on Paint Creek. As in the case of turnpikes and ferries, the State regulated the tolls to be charged for the use of the bridges. Foot passengers were charged three cents, a horse and rider twelve and one-half cents, each four-wheeled vehicle with two horses fifty cents, cattle at the rate of two cents a head, sheep and hogs at one cent.

With fees to be paid every ten miles upon the turnpikes and with tolls at the bridges and at the ferries, land travel must have been almost as expensive as it was arduous. A chapter which can never be written would deal with the penniless emigrants, and there must have been thousands of them, who had to avoid the main-traveled roads for lack of cash. It should be said to the credit of Governor Thomas Worthington, among others, that he saw the inequity of privately owned highways, and that he urged that roads be improved by special taxes levied for the purpose. His messages to the General Assemblies of 1816 and 1817 both deal at length with the duty of the State in the matter of road-building.

[24] Calvin Pease to E. A. Brown, Warren, Jan. 6, 1819, Brown MSS.

He suggested that road taxes should bear most heavily upon the owners of the land through which the improved highways would be constructed. His suggestions were not acted upon at the time, but subsequent legislatures did authorize special taxes for road work. The most difficult problem, and one with which the legislatures never successfully coped, was to prevent the equal distribution of road funds among the counties. The failure to concentrate the efforts of the State on certain key highways opened the way for private enterprise and private profit. It must have been irritating in the extreme to the individualistic westerners to pay tribute to the monopolies, but there could have been little effective opposition, for the proprietors of the turnpikes were invariably the most powerful men, both politically, and in an economic sense, in their counties, and the lists of the originators of the companies, which one may read in the opening clauses of the charters, read like a "Who's Who" to one who is familiar with local history.

The National Turnpike, or Cumberland Road, was so slow in building that it seemed an illusion to Ohioans.[25] Wheeling was finally reached in 1818, amid great rejoicing, but here the course of construction was held up for seven long years. Ohioans had a hand in originating the idea of the road and they never forgot that two per cent. of the proceeds of public land sales within the State had gone towards its cost. There never could have been a more eloquent statement of the purposes of road-building in the United States than that found in the report which the original committee on the National Road made to Congress in 1805. "Politicians have generally agreed that rivers unite the interests and promote the friendship of those who inhabit their banks; while mountains, on the contrary, tend to disunion and estrangement of those who are separated by their intervention. In the present case, to make the crooked ways straight, and the rough places smooth, will, in effect, remove the intervening mountains, and by facilitating the inter-

[25] T. B. Searight, *Old Pike, a History of the National Road* (Uniontown, Pa., 1894). This continues to be the most colorful account of the building and operation of the National Road.

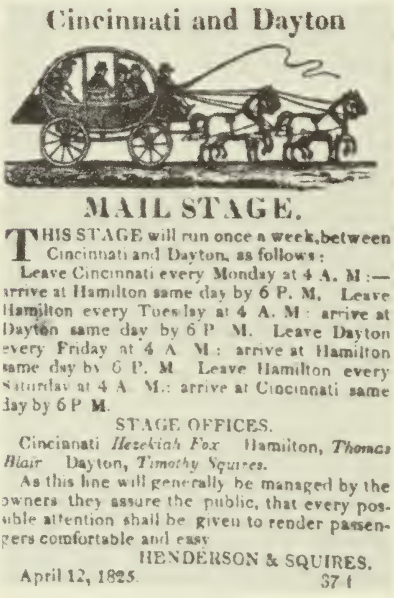
course of our Western brethren with those on the Atlantic, substantially unite them *in interest,* which, the committee believe, is the most effectual cement of union applicable to the human race." [26]

Ohioans might well raise the question why a road conceived with such a lofty purpose should be so long delayed in attaining its end. The years of delay brought one result which is worthy of comment. If the road had been pushed through within a few years after its inception its western terminus would have gravitated toward the areas of concentrated population such as Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and the Kentucky settlements. Central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, might in this way have been deprived of the arterial highway which played so great a part in their development. However that might have been, the construction of the great road within the State did not commence until July 4, 1825, the day, incidentally, on which the shovelful of dirt was dug at Licking Summit, inaugurating the great program of canal-building in Ohio. When these two projects were completed the pioneer stage in transportation in Ohio was brought to an end.

Stage-coach lines and freighting companies kept abreast of the improvement in highways, indeed they may have anticipated these improvements, if one may trust the observations of travelers from the East. Newspapers displayed with genuine enthusiasm the advertisements of each new undertaking, its phenomenal schedule and accommodations. The dazzling coaches and the elaborate organization of the lines, rivaling the bus systems of our own day, were not as yet conceived, but they were built upon these foundations. Scattered notices of stages are to be found throughout the early years of statehood. In 1805, for example, one might travel from Cincinnati to Yellow Springs, by way of Hamilton, Franklin, and Dayton, in a four-horse coach, for a fare of five dollars, with way passage at the rate of six cents a mile.[27] It was not until after 1815, however, that stages made their appearance in significant numbers. In 1817 a Cincinnati paper "announced with pleasure"

[26] *Annals of Congress,* 9 Cong., 1 Sess., Dec. 19, 1805, p. 25.
[27] Cincinnati *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette,* Aug. 21, 1805.

that mail-stages were running regularly between Wheeling and Louisville, by way of Zanesville, Chillicothe, Maysville, and Lexington. James Johnson, proprietor of the line guaranteed to furnish horses to ride in case it was impossible for the coaches to keep to their schedules. The editor suggested that stages should run between Cincinnati and Chillicothe to make connections with this line or, if that were not possible, that passenger packets between Maysville and Cincinnati should cooperate with it.[28]


Cincinnati and Dayton

MAIL STAGE.

THIS STAGE will run once a week, between Cincinnati and Dayton, as follows:

Leave Cincinnati every Monday at 4 A. M:—arrive at Hamilton same day by 6 P. M. Leave Hamilton every Tuesday at 4 A. M: arrive at Dayton same day by 6 P. M. Leave Dayton every Friday at 4 A. M: arrive at Hamilton same day by 6 P. M. Leave Hamilton every Saturday at 4 A. M.: arrive at Cincinnati same day by 6 P. M.

STAGE OFFICES.

Cincinnati *Hezekiah Fox* Hamilton, *Thomas Blair* Dayton, *Timothy Squires.*

As this line will generally be managed by the owners they assure the public, that every possible attention shall be given to render passengers comfortable and easy.

HENDERSON & SQUIRES.

April 12, 1825. 37 t

20. STAGE-COACH

From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Apr. 22, 1825.

From a study of advertisements one may trace the fairly rapid growth in the number of stage lines. In 1817 connections were established between Cincinnati and Lexington, operating apparently only in the summer and fall.[29] In 1820 stages ran on a weekly schedule between Cincinnati and Chillicothe, leaving Cincinnati on Thursday morning and arriving at Chillicothe Saturday evening.[30] An elaborate advertisement in the Columbus *Gazette* of April 16, 1818, announced the "Columbus Mail Stage" which was to commence biweekly trips between Columbus and Chillicothe. The coach was scheduled to leave Columbus at noon on Mondays and Fridays, arriving in Chillicothe at noon the following day. The night would be spent at Circleville on the way to Chillicothe, and at "Holmes' " on the return trip, but "if the moon shines, and the roads favourable, will go through to Columbus." The fare was

[28] *Ibid.,* June 6, 1817.
[29] *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 8, 1817.
[30] *Supporter,* May 31, 1820.

$2.50, but for "one gentleman & lady" the fare was reduced to four dollars. In May, 1823, a Columbus paper noted that "our great Eastern, South-eastern, Northern and Southern mails, are now brought to this town in stages." This was progress indeed when one considers that only a few years before the city of Columbus could be identified only as "the high bank of the Scioto opposite to Franklinton." [31]

The desperate need for improved highways, particularly those which established connections with the East, was amply proved by the traffic which flooded each newly improved road. Before the fills or the newly made bridges had settled into place, the heavy Conestoga wagons were rolling over them, bearing freight to eager western merchants. This business of freighting had its antecedents in the pack-horse days, when two men and a string of horses brought light-weight goods to the West, with ten horses for each ton of merchandise. The ratio of "horse-power" to tonnage was greatly reduced with the coming of the freighters, for the wagoner with his six-horse team would apologize if his load were less than three tons, and loads of five tons, or "a hundred hundred," to use their phrase, was cause for boasting.[32]

These Conestoga wagons should be described eloquently, or not at all, for under various names they accompanied every stage of the western exodus of the American people. The bed of the wagon was long and deep, with the bottom sloping upward at either end, to prevent the shifting of the load on the steep hills. The broad sides were painted blue, and the movable sideboards red, while the broad wooden bows were covered with white canvas, thereby presenting, appropriately enough, the three colors of the young Republic. More important to the turnpike companies and to those who maintained the road-beds under the heavy traffic, were the broad four-inch tires of the freighters, which tended to pack the road-bed rather than cut it, as did the narrow-tired farm wagons.

As early as 1822, when the National Road had been completed

[31] Columbus *Gazette,* May 8, 1823.
[32] Searight, *Old Pike,* 119.



Map 7. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1820

only as far as Wheeling, it was estimated that one freight wagon a day, on the average, passed over the river at that point alone, bound for Ohio and the West.[33] And this was only the beginning. The greatest outlet for wagon-borne commerce was, of course, in the rapidly growing interior counties, in settlements, that is, which had no contact with navigable rivers. The extent of this wagon trade

[33] *Ibid.*, 107f.

prior to 1825 cannot be estimated, but its nature can be illustrated by the history of a mercantile house in Worthington, a thriving community north of Columbus.

In its location, Worthington may be considered a typical inland community, yet more fortunate than most, since two highways of importance crossed at that point. First there was the highway leading from Kentucky by way of Chillicothe and Columbus to Lake Erie, and second and more important commercially there was the road which connected with Steubenville or Wheeling in the east and crossed Ohio by way of Zanesville, Newark, Granville, Urbana, and Greenville. The Worthington Manufacturing Company, of which the versatile James Kilbourne seems to have been the leading spirit, had been engaged in a general mercantile business since 1812, and it was this company that displayed great initiative in promoting the growth of land-borne commerce. The following extract is from an elaborate advertisement which appeared in the Columbus *Gazette,* May 14, 1818.

"The Worthington Manufacturing Company

". . . The Company having a number of mercantile houses in the cities of N. York and Baltimore concerned, as stockholders in the establishment, have made such arrangements in those cities, for future supplies, and for transportation by the Hudson and Lakes from New York, and a line of WAGGONS from Baltimore, as to be constantly supplied in their own stores, and able to supply other merchants with assortments to almost any amount required, the payment being satisfactory; they have now several WAGGONS on the way from Baltimore with further supplies; some of which are daily expected, and others will follow them *every month of the year.*

"The Company have made arrangements in *Kentucky,* also, for regular supplies, in large quantities, of the products of that state; a part of which they have now on the way from *Lexington;* and for extending their business in that direction, and obtaining supplies of the *Northern Lake Productions,* they will immediately establish

"A LINE OF WAGGONS

From Kentucky, by *Columbus, Worthington, Delaware and Norton, to the new city on Sandusky Bay.*

"Almost every kind of country produce will be received in payment, and even CASH ITSELF, *rather than lose a good trade, or disoblige a friend and customer. . . ."*

This advertisement is noteworthy because it gives the first indication of the opening of trade between central Ohio and New York by way of the Hudson River route, thus anticipating the Erie Canal, and also because of the interest shown in the development of trade with the new settlements on Sandusky Bay. It is not clear what sort of arrangement the company may have had with the wagon lines, nor what products were transported on their return trips to the East. It seems quite probable that the ambitious program was never put into operation, at least on the scale contemplated by the advertisement, for the manufacturing company and its mercantile affiliate were ruined in the crash of 1819.[34] It may best be taken as an illustration of the ingenuity and initiative of Ohio merchants, who could be thwarted only by a major economic disaster.

In viewing the total situation of transportation as Ohioans confronted it prior to 1825, one sees many alternatives, all of which were too costly in time or money or both. Freighting by wagons was costly, and the cost could not be greatly reduced. In 1820 Columbus merchants were paying seven cents a pound for imports hauled from Philadelphia, although the rate may have been slightly lower in large quantities.[35] As late as 1838, to give a basis for comparison, a wagoner was paid $4.25 a hundred for hauling a large load of merchandise from Baltimore to Mt. Vernon, and this was at a time when the National Pike was available to within some thirty miles of his destination.[36]

[34] James Kilbourne, "Autobiography," *"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* (Columbus, O.), VI, 119.

[35] Renselear W. Cowles to his father, Worthington, Dec. 13, 1820, MS. (in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library).

[36] Searight, *Old Pike,* 112.

New Orleans was not a complementary market, whether for exports or imports; exports in that direction must be processed, and imports must be valuable enough to bear the cost of handling and transport over some thousands of miles of ocean, in addition to the expensive trip up-stream. The transportation from the East by way of Pittsburgh or Wheeling and the Ohio River also involved double or even triple handling, since towns which were not located on the Ohio River tended to use wagon transportation in preference to the laborious up-stream navigation of the Ohio's tributaries. Even Chillicothe ceased to depend on the Scioto after the road to Portsmouth was improved. Neither the development of the steamboats upon the river nor the construction of all-weather highways can be said to have solved the problems of either the Ohio producer or merchant. It is obvious that we have here the factors which created the demand for the Ohio canal system and the building of the railroads, matters which will be fully treated in another volume. It is clear, also, that Ohio manufactures would be stimulated to phenomenal growth by the protection afforded by these high transportation costs. Before entering into a discussion of this important topic, it may be well to give attention to the retail merchant who, more than any other Ohioan, had to wrestle with transportation costs.

The barter system was universal on the frontier, and hence the proprietor of a general store was perforce an exporter as well as an importer. When James Kilbourne composed the advertisement of the Worthington firm which is quoted above, he had a twinkle in his eye as he wrote that "even CASH ITSELF" would be accepted rather than lose a good trade or disoblige a customer. He knew full well that "country produce" would constitute the great proportion of his receipts. It should not be assumed that merchants took produce in exchange for goods merely as an accommodation; they could not have done business otherwise, for hard money was woefully scarce in the West, and what there was gravitated towards the East. Nor were the merchants alone affected. Newspaper editors were always willing to take clean rags in lieu of money, for the

rags served as currency with the paper mills. The editor of the *Supporter* of Chillicothe was desperate when he offered to take "Flour, Wheat, Corn, Corn-meal, Buckwheat, Pork, Beef, Tallow, Hogs-lard, Butter, Cheese, Poultry, and Sugar" in payment of subscriptions. He added, rather testily, that "those who cannot supply us with at least some of the above articles, ought not to take a newspaper." [37] One might buy a wagon with whiskey, tanned leather with raw hides, crockery with beeswax, or a farm with hogs, or vice versa.

The life of the early Ohio merchant, with its vicissitudes and successes, may be told more impressively by illustration than by generalization. The career of Joseph Hough, who for twenty years conducted a general store in Hamilton, may be taken as typical, although he may have been more successful than the average merchant.[38] He grew up in Brownsville, the active ship-building center on the Monongahela, in Pennsylvania. He was apprenticed to a watch- and clock-maker, and after he was able to work as a journeyman he saved his money. He had accumulated one thousand dollars by the time he was twenty-three, in 1806. He formed a partnership with his brother, who also had a bit of capital, and together they set out upon the Ohio River with a flatboat loaded with general merchandise. It was their intention to open a store in the village of Lebanon, but after they had almost reached their destination, they were persuaded that Hamilton would offer a better opportunity. They arrived at Hamilton in July, 1806, having been more than a month on the road. The wagons, by which their goods had been transported from Cincinnati were unloaded in a vacant building and the two young men became full-fledged storekeepers. The brother died within a few weeks of "bilious fever" but Joseph continued until 1825 in the management of the business.

The early merchant must, of necessity, spend many weeks of each year upon the road, and as a consequence the usual business

[37] *Supporter,* Nov. 2, 1811.

[38] R. P. Beaver, "Joseph Hough, an Early Miami Merchant," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLV, 37-45.

was a partnership. For a number of years Hough's partner was James McBride, the historian of Butler County. Let us turn to Hough's own account of his experiences:

"The difficulties connected with the merchantile [*sic*] business of the early periods to which I have referred, cannot be realized by the merchants of this day. We had to travel on horse-back from Hamilton to Philadelphia, a distance of six-hundred miles, to purchase our goods. . . . When our goods were purchased, we had to engage wagons to haul them to Pittsburgh, a distance, by the then roads, of three hundred miles. . . . The transportation of goods over the mountains occupied from twenty to twenty-five days, and cost from six to ten dollars per hundred. Our goods being landed at Pittsburgh, we usually bought flat-boats or keel-boats to take our goods to Cincinnati and we then were able to have them hauled to Hamilton at from fifty to seventy-five cents per hundred. We were generally engaged three months in going East—in purchasing a stock of goods, and getting them safely delivered at Hamilton. Those three months were months of toil and privation of every kind. . . .

"After the receipt of our goods at Hamilton our difficulties were by no means all over-come. In order to sell them we were compelled not only to do the ordinary duties of merchants and to incur its ordinary responsibilities, and risks, but had to become the produce merchants of the country. We were compelled to take the farmers produce and send or take it to New Orleans, the only market we could reach. It was necessary for the merchant to buy pork and pack it; to buy wheat, buy barrels and contract for the manufacture of wheat into flour, and then build flat-bottomed boats and with great expense and risk of property, commit the whole to the dangers of navigation of the Miami, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers."

Either Hough or his partner McBride took charge of the flat-boats bound for the markets on the lower Mississippi. The profit on a whole year's work might well depend on the success of each of these trips. Hough descended the river no less than fourteen times before 1819. He even encountered the famous Henry Shreve

on the maiden voyage of the *Washington* in 1816, but refused to pay the one hundred fifty dollars which the captain asked for passage up-stream to Louisville, choosing rather to undergo the difficulties and dangers of the Natchez Trace. Hough in 1825 disposed of his Ohio business and moved to Mississippi, where he spent the remainder of his life as a merchant and land speculator in the neighborhood of Vicksburg.

If one may judge from the advertising displayed in the early newspapers, practically all stores carried a general line of goods: groceries, liquor, dry goods, hardware, glassware and dishes. In his *Picture of Cincinnati* (1815), Daniel Drake stated that among the seventy stores of the city, sixty dealt in general merchandise, while a few shops specialized in shoes, drugs, and ironware.[39] Specialization may be considered as evidence of the approaching maturity of an economic system, a situation which could scarcely have been found in Ohio outside of Cincinnati. The city merchants may have been relieved of having to take anything from maple-sugar to hog-bristles in payment for their goods, but they had their difficulties. At the risk of extending this chapter beyond its proper limit, a final quotation will be given, describing a half-day in the life of a Cincinnati merchant.[40] His account, which appeared in the Cincinnati *Gazette,* is unique, as anyone will testify who has spent many hours with early Ohio newspapers.

"Rose at 6 o'clock, A.M. regulated the store, puffed a segar, and walked the pavement in slippers until 7, then prepared for breakfast, and while adjusting my cravat, was accosted by a boy, with 'how do you sell coffee?' 'Thirty-seven and a half cents,' I replied, away he went. Breakfasted at half past seven, eyed with wishful expectancy the crowd as they passed my door—At 9 I was aroused by the shrill exclamation of 'how do you sell domestics here?' from an elderly looking woman with an empty basket on her arm and a huge corncob pipe in her mouth; but having learned the price

[39] Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 150.
[40] *Supporter,* July 29, 1818, quoting *Liberty Hall.*

and overhauled everything she could lay her hands upon, she deliberately passed into the next store. While replacing my goods a very unwelcome visitor called; no other than a runner from one of the banks, with a request that I would accept a draft. 'A draft indeed; I wish the d - - - l would take all such torments,' said I, and while writing with a trembling hand the word 'accepted,' in came a sprightly belle. Ah thinks I, lovely girl, if you would only write 'accepted'—Pray sir, have you any thread lace? A very fine assortment Miss, answered I. Then silks and ribbons, and bonnets and shawls, and gloves, crapes and satins were all displayed in glittering profusion, with many a round assertion from me of their excellence and cheapness, and in return I received a most gracious smile with—'I'll call again sir'—'I hope not,' muttered I as she left the door. . . . It was now 12 o'clock, I had a note to pay in bank, and was just going out to borrow the money, when I was met by three bouncing country girls and their gallant attendants. Now for the cash, thought I. Again the polished counter was bedecked, and after much persuasion and a repetition of all the mercantile slang that I have been learning for years, they consented to take a quarter yard of Leno, if I would throw in the thread to make it up with. To this I objected, they insisted, and in order to get clear of them, I at length complied.

"I now sallied forth in good earnest to borrow money, met two or three of my neighbors on the same business, succeeded in getting part, and as a dernier resort, proceeded to the brokers, and sold at 6 per cent discount, all my receipts for the last two weeks, and quite out of breath reached the bank just as they were closing the doors.

"The above Messrs Editors is a faithful picture of a merchant's employment for half a day; if any one covet his situation, I wish he had it—if anyone doubt the statement, I hope he may yet be a tape-seller in Cincinnati. . . ."

In the two chapters just concluded an attempt has been made to describe the difficulties of transportation, whether by land or water, against which early Ohioans contended. One should not as-

sume that the economic system which was taking shape in Ohio was simple because it was in its infancy. On the contrary, more vision, more shrewdness, and more hard work were required of the successful business man of those days than at any period since. There was in the first place the problem of marketing surplus products profitably; on this everything else depended. To offset the constantly unfavorable balance of trade there was enthusiastic support for all local manufactures, which grew naturally under the high cost of importing. One problem the Ohioans could not solve alone, although they did not fail to try, was the creation of adequate banking facilities for a rapidly growing State, where the future seemed most bright, but where cash was not to be had, no matter how urgently it was needed. The two chapters which follow will deal with these problems.

CHAPTER IX

Growth of Industries

IN AN enumeration, based on the Census of 1820, of the factories in the United States which produced goods which were dutiable if imported, Ohio ranked *third* in value of products, and *fifth* in amount of capital invested. Pennsylvania and New York surpassed Ohio in the value of the output of their factories, while Virginia and Connecticut were fourth and fifth in the list. The order in amounts of capital invested was : New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Virginia. The total value of the products of Ohio's 578 factories for the year 1820 was $3,134,772, and the capital invested totalled $3,955,839, an average, that is, of $5,423 in products and $6,844 in capital.[1] Doubt may be cast on the statistical value of the tables compiled in 1820, and the depression from which the country was suffering leads to uncertainty in interpretations, but the fact remains that Ohio had become a center of industrial development.

It is a matter for wonder that Ohio, in the year 1820, was one of the leading industrial states in the Union, when it is recalled that twenty years before only an occasional saw- or grist-mill would have been encountered in the wilderness. Not that one should lose perspective at this point and imagine that flourishing factories were to be found in every hamlet, or that the word "factory" denoted an elaborate establishment. Four out of five of the more than 500 factories employed fewer than ten men, only one out of nine hired more than fifteen, and only nine out of the total reported more than fifty employees. "Factories" with only one or two hands were probably more numerous in Ohio than in the East, although

[1] *American State Papers, Finance* (Washington, D. C., 1832-59), IV, 459. Statistics cited in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are from this volume, pages 184-214.

small establishments were common throughout the country. The flourishing iron-works near Zanesville, with 158 employees, ranked as one of the largest concerns in the Nation.[2]

The reasons for Ohio's rapid industrial development are, for the most part, obvious. It has already been pointed out that high transportation costs acted as a stimulus not unlike a protective tariff in its effect.[3] In common with manufacturing throughout the United States, Ohio's industries benefited by the disruption of normal trade with Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, and in the latter stages of that period the presence of large armed forces on Ohio's northern frontier was a boon to local manufacturing, particularly to the milling of flour and the packing of meat. Following the war, the enactment of the Tariff of 1816, while it was not passed in time to prevent the influx of cheap British goods, did serve as a deterrent to competition, thereby convincing many Ohioans of the benefits of protection. The rapid growth in population was a great encouragement to industry in Ohio. The immigrants were relied upon as a source for much-needed hard money; the decline in their numbers following the Panic of 1819 was a contributing factor to the general disaster which overwhelmed the West in that period. The raw materials, products of the forest and farms, and the abundant minerals were, of course, the first prerequisites of industry. The deterrents to manufacturing, on the other hand, were the scarcity of skilled labor and the inadequacy of capital. So far as the latter was concerned, frontier industry constantly suffered from competition with the more attractive fields of commerce and land speculation; probably the same thing may be said of labor.[4]

Since the manufactures of Ohio were by no means negligible,

[2] Works frequently consulted include: J. L. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* . . . (Philadelphia, 1868), II; V. S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1916); Isaac Lippincott, *History of Manufactures in Ohio to the Year 1860* (Chicago, 1914).

[3] F. P. Goodwin, "Rise of Manufactures in the Miami Country," *American Historical Review* (New York), XII (1906-07), 761ff.

[4] Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 142.

from the viewpoint of either the State or the Nation, it may be well to show how these enterprises were started, how they grew, and how they were distributed within the State. Many Ohio counties of 1820 were still on the frontier and the statistics of their manufacturing establishments furnish a clue to the primary needs of the newer settlements, for they repeated, on a small scale, the industrial history of the State itself. Thirty of the fifty-four counties for which there are reports, had fewer than ten factories. Saw- and grist-mills, distilleries and tanneries, were found in greatest numbers in these thirty counties, while carding-mills and hat-factories also figured prominently. The study of Ohio's pioneer industries may be approached logically, if not with a strict sense of chronology, by considering first the establishments which made use of the inexhaustible resources of the forests, second, those which used the products of the pioneer farms, and finally, those which utilized the mineral resources, such as the salt-works and the furnaces and forges which worked the native ore into axes, sickles, and plowshares so much needed by the farmers. The artisans who carried the process of manufacture through a second step, constructing furniture from the rough lumber, or bleaching and dyeing the cloth which the farmer's wife had woven, must also be fitted into the study.

The lumbering business of the early West is almost without a written history. Yet millions of feet of white pine in the form of logs, planks, and shingles were floated down the Ohio River from the Alleghenies, to be sold at the river towns, and Ohio, although forced to import pine, exported vast quantities of walnut, blue ash, cherry, and poplar boards, the product of unnamed sawmills.[5] There was an almost insatiable local demand for lumber and the permanent record of the work done by the early sawyers exists only in the homes built by the second generation of Ohioans, houses with honest walnut siding, with ash or oak flooring, and with joists of beech. No statistical survey can be made of the business of these early lumbermen, for the discrepancies of the Census of 1820 are

[5] *Ibid.*, 148.

all too obvious in this regard and no other record approaching completeness is known to exist. A student might easily locate hundreds of early mills with the aid of county histories, for the erection of each mill was a matter of such importance that many details passed into local records.

There was an eager search for mill sites by early surveyors and land speculators. The "shoe-string" surveys of the Virginia Military District were often for the purpose of preempting such sites in adjoining valleys. The smaller streams were preferred to the larger, provided there was evidence of a fairly constant flow of water. The damming of sizeable streams was too great an undertaking for amateur engineers and the State government had prohibited the obstruction of navigable rivers unless an expensive lock or "slope" was constructed for the use of passing boats.[6] The consent of the county commissioners had to be obtained before a mill was built, according to an early law, but one may surmise that scant attention was paid to the act in the frontier counties.

In the construction of the mill itself one need not distinguish between saw- and grist-mills, so far as the harnessing of the power is concerned. Wheels of the traditional type, of stout wood joined with wooden pins, were mounted on heavy wooden axles. Both overshot and undershot wheels were to be found, although the latter type was more common since it was more easily supplied with water. The mill machinery was extremely simple, particularly in the earlier years, because of the lack of both materials and knowledge. Power was transmitted by the use of wooden axles and the simplest of wooden gears. The use of belts and iron gearing did not become general until the end of the pioneer period. Sawmills were simple in the extreme. The saw itself, usually imported from the East, was a heavy steel band, since circular saws were practically unknown. The downward motion was imparted by a crank-shaft, usually attached directly to the main axle, and the upward stroke was produced by an elastic pole to which the upper end of the saw was fastened. This was the sawmill in its simplest

[6] Act of Feb. 17, 1808.

form, elaboration came with the introduction of steam-power and iron gearing. One gets the impression that inadequate technique for the machining of iron, rather than the lack of ingenuity or inventiveness, was the cause of the delay in mechanical progress in the first decades of the century. However that may have been, the early lumberman was ready to commence operations after he had spent some months of labor with ax, auger, adze, and shovel. His investment was largely in labor; at the most he could not place an evaluation of more than $1,000.00 on his mill. Among the dozens of mills listed in the enumeration of 1820, this appraisal of their value was almost invariably given.

The report of lumbering of 1820, taken at face value, leads to certain generalizations. Poplar, cherry, walnut, ash, oak, and pine (from Fairfield County only) were the only types of timber mentioned. The uncut logs were valued at one dollar apiece, in the instances where they are mentioned. The output of the mills in board-feet varied widely, depending no doubt on the head of water and the demand for the lumber. A good mill was capable of sawing about 1,000 feet a day. Drouths in the summer and ice in the winter hindered the operation of the mills; probably they worked at capacity less than three months out of the year. The price of the lumber at the mill was about seven dollars per thousand, although the sawyers of 1820 reported that sales were usually on credit or in exchange for produce. The net income from a simple mill seems to have been approximately $300.00 a year. This was only a fair return, if one assumes that the mill ran less than half the year and that the owner allowed wages for himself.

Among the Executive Documents of Governor Ethan A. Brown is a series of reports submitted by the auditors of a number of counties in reply to a questionnaire which he sent out in 1819.[7] He wished to ascertain the output of each county in lumber, iron-work, distilled liquor, salt, grain, flour, and miscellaneous manufactures. Unfortunately the reports are neither complete for all the counties nor of uniform value. By using the statements with some care

[7] In Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library.

one is able to supplement greatly the tabulation of 1820, and to detect, incidentally, the gross errors in that summary of Ohio's industries. If one may trust the county auditors, as seems reasonable, the errors in the census were invariably of understatement. In Ashtabula County, to choose a glaring example, the census reported only four mills in 1820, while the report to the governor gave the number as twenty-three with an annual output of almost two million feet of lumber. One is at a loss to explain the discrepancy, for the depression which struck the State with full force in the year of the census, served to cut down the cash receipts of the mills, rather than to destroy them.

Let us examine such of the auditors' statements in regard to sawmills as seem most trustworthy. A summary may be attempted of the data from 18 counties which together constitute a cross-section of the State. A total of 346 sawmills in these 18 counties reported an annual output of 22,570,000 feet of lumber, which meant an average of about 68,000 feet for each mill.[8] Trumbull County, with 47 mills, ranked first, while Greene and Licking were second and third with 32 and 29 respectively. These three counties also ranked highest in production, each reporting more than two and one-half million feet of lumber. The 13 mills in the newly settled county of Medina worked overtime, for they produced over 100,000 feet each. These figures are given for their descriptive rather than statistical value. In many instances the names of the mill owners were listed by the auditors, and one suspects that inaccuracies arose principally from the casual nature of the records kept at the mills. If one is in a contemplative mood statistics are repulsive and the thought may come of spicy brown walnut, beautiful red cherry, the handsomest of native cabinet woods, soft yellow poplar, and white and blue ash, the most popular and in some ways the most beautiful of flooring materials.

While the sawmills utilized untold thousands of logs from the

[8] The 18 counties are: Ashtabula, Brown, Clark, Cuyahoga, Delaware, Fayette, Greene, Licking, Medina, Miami, Monroe, Morgan, Pike, Portage, Scioto, Shelby, Trumbull, Washington.

virgin timber, the total could have been but a small fraction of those that were burned to ashes on the bonfires of the pioneer clearings. The ashes of these fires, reduced to potash and pearlash, furnished the farmer with a source of ready cash, as has been noted earlier. While each pioneer household utilized the lye water from an improvised ash-hopper, the preparation of the alkalies for export became an established industry, and farmers found a ready market for ashes which had been protected from rain. The manufacture of potassium carbonate and potassium hydroxide had been important industries in the American colonies, in fact both products had been subsidized by the British Government. The business seems to have become localized in New England and New York in the period of the early Republic. This may account for the emphasis placed on the industry in the Western Reserve and other New England settlements.[9]

Elaborate techniques for the wholesale preparation of the alkalies had been developed in the Eastern States but it was discovered that small establishments located near the timber-lands yielded the best returns. Such "asheries," while requiring some skill in operation, were not difficult to build. Huge hoppers must first be erected for the leaching of the ashes, and next there must be a number of iron kettles for the boiling-down process. In the preparation of pearlash (potassium carbonate) a special furnace had to be constructed. This furnace, built of brick, was not unlike a large baker's oven, save that a grate was constructed at one edge of the oven floor, rather than under it.[10]

In the preparation of pearlash the lye water was boiled down to a residue commonly called "black soot." This "soot" was then spread evenly over the floor of the furnace which had first been covered with a layer of fine dry wood. An intensely hot fire was built over the grate at the edge of the furnace and the salts were rapidly brought to a red heat. The process of boiling and heating was repeated for the purpose of refining the product. After the

[9] Bishop, *Manufactures,* II, 56f.
[10] Chauncey Eggleston, "Personal Reminiscences," *O. S. A. H.* Quar., XLI, 293f.

second burning the pearlash, white as chalk, was raked from the oven and packed in barrels, ready for export or for sale to local manufacturers.

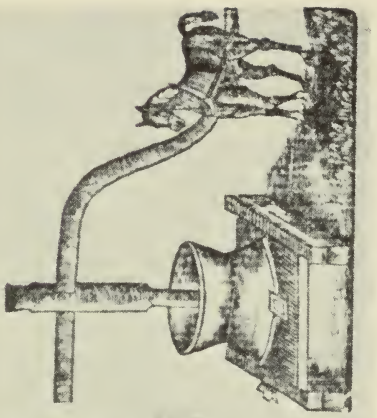
Potash (potassium hydroxide) was more simply prepared. The ashes were leached in combination with lime. After the lye water had been boiled down, a "potash kettle" was filled with the residue and this heated over an intense fire until the salts were fused. On cooling, the potash was almost as hard as stone and in this form it was ready for marketing.

In 1819 nine "asheries" were operating in the county of Ashtabula, with a production for that year of forty-two tons, while Cuyahoga reported an output of fifty tons of pearlash and ten tons of potash from seven establishments. Although the demand for the alkalies was constant, the prices fluctuated considerably. An advertisement in a Chillicothe paper in 1812 offered $120.00 a ton for potash and $130.00 for pearlash, delivered at Louisville. One hundred dollars a ton was given as the current price in the report from Cuyahoga County in 1819. No estimate has been found of the quantities exported, although Daniel Drake speaks of the products as among the principal exports of the Miami country in 1819.[11] There must have been an increasing demand, for both household and manufacturing purposes, since these alkalies were used in preparing hominy, making soap, bleaching cloth, and the manufacture of glass. The glass factory in Zanesville, for example, reported a consumption of sixty-five tons of potash in 1820, and the soap- and candle-factory of the same town used six tons of potash and twice that amount of "black salts" or crude pearlash. One may only conjecture as to the total income derived as a by-product of the destruction of Ohio's virgin timber. One Ohioan who operated an "ashery" as a boy may not have been exaggerating when he stated that "ashes saved when land is cleared and house ashes have brought millions of dollars into our country." [12]

The importance of tan-bark, peeled from the fallen chestnuts,

[11] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 148.
[12] Eggleston, "Personal Reminiscences," 294.

oaks, and hickories, does not become apparent until one is aware of the magnitude of the leather industry in early Ohio. Only five counties failed to mention tanneries in their statements of county industries in 1820, and all these consumed bark at the ratio of about one cord of bark for every ten hides. Warren County, which produced over $20,000.00 worth of tanned leather in 1820, consumed 380 cords of bark in the process. It is difficult to conjecture how many chestnut and oak trees lost their coverings in order to produce this essential supply of tannin. Bark-mills were part of the equipment of every tan-yard, since the bark was ground before it was added to the solution in the vats. While there is abundant proof of the extensive use of tan-bark, there is little to indicate its price commercially. Considerable quantities of tan-bark were stolen from Government lands according to an account from Adams County: "Indeed, there is a vagrant class who are supported by this kind of business. They erect a cabin towards the head of some ravine, collect the chestnut-oak bark from the neighboring hill tops, drag it on sleds to points accessible to wagon, where they sell it for perhaps $2 a cord to the wagoner. The last sells it at the river to the flat boat shipper, at $6 per cord, and he again to the consumer



NEW
IMPROVED BARK-MILL.

THE undersigned have purchased the patent right of *Jared Olds' patent BARK MILL*, for the states of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, for grinding bark for tanners: and are allowed by all tanners who have used his mill, to be superior, to any in the United States, in facility of grinding and the quality of the bark when ground, being fine and even. Tanners in this and the adjoining counties are respectfully informed, that they will be kept for sale in Cincinnati, and may be had by applying to the subscribers at maj. M'Henry's tavern, or of Mr. David Kilgour, who has one in operation, where tanners can see it and judge for themselves—and from the number of mills we have sold, and being so well approved of by all, we flatter ourselves we shall be able to give satisfaction to all who purchase mills of us.

21. BARK-MILL
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*, Oct. 2, 1815.

at Cincinnati, for $11." [13] The thieves were robbed, apparently!

Lumber, potash, and tan-bark played indispensable roles in the development of Ohio industry. Maple-sugar, another product of the forest, was of some commercial importance, over three million pounds being produced in Ohio in 1810, but its production never approached the factory stage. In the absence of statistics, one may conjecture that the amount of maple-sugar available for export decreased with the rapid increase in the population of the State. As a pleasant occupation for the farmers in the early spring and as a diversion for small boys, the activities of the sugar-camp could not have been surpassed.

One might write at length of the various crafts and industries which were dependent on the sawmills for their raw materials. A list based on contemporary records would include coopers, shipwrights, spinningwheel-makers, millwrights, chair-makers, general carpenters, cabinetmakers, the operators of kilns for the drying of lumber, and finally the retail lumber dealers. Few of these crafts and industries had entered the factory stage in the period with which we are dealing. One establishment in Cincinnati which manufactured chairs, settees, and cradles hired sixteen men and eight boys at a time when business was described as dull. Some economies could be achieved in a shop with several workmen but otherwise there was no incentive for the introduction of the factory system, since little machinery for wood-working had been developed aside from the lathe and the boring-machine, both of which were usually operated by man-power.

The manufacture of barrels, tubs, and hogsheads was an industry of great importance, particularly to those who were engaged in exporting. Millions of these containers packed with flour, pork, lard, butter, and whiskey made their way to the outside world, and the coopers worked overtime to supply the demand. At times they were forced to use unseasoned white oak for their staves, which brought repeated complaints from their customers. One enter-

[13] John Locke, quoted in Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* . . . (Cincinnati, 1847), 27.

prising cooper of Cincinnati introduced a patented machine for speeding up production. It is thus described by Drake: "The author of this invention is William Baily, of Kentucky, who in 1811 obtained a patent. The power is given by one or two horses, which with a man and boy can dress and joint, in a superior manner, the staves necessary for one hundred barrels, hogsheads or pipes, in twelve hours. It can also be employed in shaving and jointing shingles, with equal advantage. The proprietors of this establishment are making arrangements for the exportation of dressed staves to New Orleans." [14] Hoop-poles, probably of sapling hickory, ash, and oak, had a ready market at the cooper shops. One packer of Cincinnati offered, in 1814, to buy 15,000 poles at one cent apiece.[15]

Sideboards, secretaries with bookcases, plane, swelled and "eliptic" bureaus, breakfast, dining, and tea tables, candle and wash stands, French, high post and common bedsteads, were among the wares advertised by John Jeffords, an early cabinetmaker of Columbus.[16] Cherry and walnut were the favorite native woods for cabinet work, but the vogue for mahogany in the Eastern States had spread to Ohio, and thousands of feet of this lumber were imported by way of New Orleans. Some furniture doubtless found its way to Ohio from the East, but the museums give ample proof that many highly skilled makers of furniture came to Ohio in the early days to practise their craft.

It is interesting to observe how the different varieties of native wood came to be associated with particular uses. Cherry, walnut, and hard maple were thought of as the furniture woods, but chairs were often a mixture of ash, maple, poplar, and hickory. Wagon frames, ladders, and the mangers of barns were almost invariably of elm, because it was not subject to splitting. Spinningwheels were almost always made from maple and white oak. Mill machinery was constructed of white oak, ash, and maple. Generally speaking, the white oak was the most valuable of all trees native to Ohio. Be-

[14] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 144.
[15] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 16, 1814.
[16] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* July 1, 1819.

cause it was straight grained, it could be worked easily but was capable of bearing the greatest strains. It was the favorite timber of Ohio ship-builders and quantities are said to have been exported for use in English ship-building.

Important as were the industries based on the forests of Ohio, they were surpassed in significance by the flour-mills, the distilleries, the pork-packing establishments, and other industries which prepared the products of the farm for the market. Most important of all were the grist-mills, for improvised methods of grinding corn and wheat were both laborious and unsatisfactory. The stories most frequently found in the recollections of pioneer life have to do with the long and adventurous trips made to some distant mill. No better proof could be asked of the importance of mills than that journeys, sometimes of more than fifty miles, were undertaken by busy pioneers in order that the meal barrel might be replenished. When the supply of flour and meal was more than sufficient for local needs, the products of the mills furnished one of the most dependable sources of income.

Grist-mills were more widely distributed than sawmills or any other type of pioneer manufacturing. Since the efficiency of the mills meant so much to the communities in terms of both food and money, more care was given to the selection of mill sites and to the construction of the machinery than in the case of sawmills. If dependable streams were not available, horse-mills were introduced which operated either by a sweep or with a treadmill mechanism. Floating mills, in which the water-wheel was ingeniously mounted between two parallel boats, were fairly common on the Ohio River, arousing the wonder of travelers.[17] Steam-engines, after they became common in the 1820's, served to disperse rather than to concentrate the milling industry. Improvement in means of transportation and the elaboration of milling equipment tended, in later decades, to decrease the importance of the neighborhood mills. By the end of the 1820's Cincinnati had become the leading

[17] Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* . . . , in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), IV, 135.

center of the Ohio Valley for the marketing of wheat and the milling of flour, but the neighborhood mills continued to do custom grinding even into the twentieth century.

The greater number of early grist-mills depended on water-power, unreliable as that was in times of drouth or heavy ice. The first mills were simply constructed, with a water-wheel which transmitted power to the stone by means of a crown-gear clumsily made of hardwood. The millstones were imported from the East, even from England, until suitable stone for their construction was found in Athens and Jackson counties.[18] In the latter county fourteen men were reported to have produced $5,000.00 worth of finished stones in the year 1820 alone. The earlier millers had no trouble in disposing of their flour and meal as it came from the stones, but by 1820 practically all the mills had some form of bolting equipment. The grading of flour by State inspectors before it was exported had forced the introduction of this refinement in milling.

Statistics of the output of these mills are both incomplete and inaccurate, although the tabulations of 1820 have been rather widely quoted. For descriptive purposes data may be given from selected counties. Medina, a county which had developed phenomenally in the period between 1815 and 1820, reported six grist-mills in the latter year which together ground 44,000 bushels of wheat and 17,000 of corn. Cyrus Spink, auditor of Wayne County, reported to the governor that there were 16 mills in that county which were capable of grinding from 20 to 30 barrels of flour per day. The auditor's comments are interesting: "This county is but young—in 1810 it contained only about 500 inhabitants it populated slowly until 1814 & at this time [1819] it is supposed to contain more than 11,000 souls. In consequence of this rapid emigration to this county there has not been much of the produce sent out of it until last year & at this time there are large quantities of wheat rye oats Pork & Beef for sal but no market. . . ."

The auditor of Licking County presented a very complete re-

[18] G. W. Ogden, *Letters from the West . . . , ibid.*, XIX, 77.

port of the activities of that area. Twenty-seven mills, several with more than one pair of stones, ground 109,907 bushels of corn, 61,700 of wheat, 24,914 of rye, and 4,520 of barley. This report indicates a predominance of corn over wheat; the reverse is found in counties in the southwestern section. Clark County reported 88,600 bushels of wheat and 25,900 bushels of corn as having been ground at the 21 mills. Montgomery County was one of the leading producers of wheat. At least 12 mills ground flour primarily for export. By way of contrast there is the report from Lawrence, the rugged river county. Five water-mills ground a total of 15,000 bushels of corn and other grains. The auditor commented that Thomas Kerr of Burlington had devised a mill moved "by the wieght of 3 or 4 Oxen on an inclined wheel." There were also four or five horse-mills in the county, each of which could grind about 3,000 bushels a year. All of the product of these mills was for home consumption, according to the auditor.

The prosperity of the miller depended, as did that of the farmer, on the price of flour, for in accordance with age-old custom, he received his fee in flour and meal. Before the State was three years old the General Assembly had set the miller's toll: one-tenth of grain ground and bolted, one-twelfth if ground and not bolted. A special regulation for horse-mills provided that the miller might take one-eighth of the product if the customer "found" the horses, but this was increased to one-quarter if the miller furnished them.[19] Two merchant millers of Kinnickinnick, a famous mill-stream in Ross County, were able to set their own terms in the prosperous period which followed the declaration of war in 1812. They addressed prospective customers in these words: "Those wishing to have Wheat Ground, can have it done by the subscribers, on the shortest notice, by furnishing five bushels of good merchantable wheat, to the barrel, and finding barrels and nails, and paying one dollar for grinding and packing, per barrel, to be paid before the flour is taken from the mill." [20]

[19] Act of Jan. 12, 1805.
[20] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Nov. 21, 1812.

The period of prosperity continued for a few years after the war, since emigrants from the East with money to pay for flour were arriving by the thousands. But the collapse of 1819 brought many millers to desperate straits, particularly if they had built up an export business. In 1817 the price of good flour had been seven or eight dollars a barrel, in 1820 it ranged from two to four. The comment of a discouraged miller of Zanesville has been embalmed in a marginal note of one of the tables of the Census of 1820. "Market value of flour is $2 50—not first cost—in any market it can be sent to. . . . On the whole, manufacturing is a poor business."

Any attempt at a statistical survey of the export of flour from Ohio must be made with misgivings. During the period from October, 1810, to May, 1811, the pilots at the Falls of the Ohio estimated the contents of 847 vessels which passed that point. Three-fifths of these had required the services of the pilots and their contents had been duly noted, the remainder passed the falls at high-water and their contents were estimated. By the combined record and estimate 206,855 barrels of flour passed Louisville during the one season.[21] In view of later statistics this figure seems excessive. Receipts at the port of New Orleans, given in barrels, showed marked variations:[22]

1815	75,000	1823	114,000
1816	98,000	1824	100,929
1817	190,000	1825	140,546
1822	120,000	1826	129,094

The greater part of this flour came from the Ohio country, but there is no way of determining the proportion.

The amount of flour inspected for export from Hamilton County for a period of five years around 1820 averaged over 35,000 barrels.

[21] W. F. Switzler, "Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States," U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report and Statements . . . on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1887*, 187.

[22] *Ibid.*, 196; William Steele to E. A. Brown, Ohio Executive Documents (E A. Brown).

The inspector in a report to the governor, written in 1820, estimated that several thousand barrels had been shipped from the Miami country without inspection. He commented that "neither Law or Interest" could compel or induce some of the shippers to submit to inspection.[23]

Many of the difficulties in marketing Ohio flour are revealed in an "Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the Steam boat Enterprise, on the Mississippi, to a merchant in Cincinnati, dated 2d June 1816," which was printed in a Cincinnati paper.[24] The writer, evidently well versed in commercial matters, analyzed the sources of loss in the flour trade, most of which could have been prevented by greater care on the part of the shipper. Of all the products of the western country, flour represented the greatest tonnage, and yet no other product reached New Orleans in a state less merchantable. He itemized the causes of a situation which was plainly disastrous. Although Ohio laws prescribed the size of flour barrels, they were actually of all types; if undersize the flour was packed so tightly that it spoiled, and if too large, they wasted valuable space. The barrels were not only of odd sizes, they were often made of partly seasoned staves, which caused the contents to sour and the barrels to become loose. In the third place "the flour, in order to have a clear white, is on the average at least one half ground too low; consequently the highest ground of fairest appearance, is always much preferred by the baker, and the other soon perishes." A large proportion of the hundred thousand barrels which arrived annually in New Orleans were on the verge of spoiling because the flour had not been cooled and dried before packing. Evidently the system of inspection had broken down in Ohio. "It is a fact generally known at Orleans, that your best inspectors are frequently overruled by a combination of millers, who manage so as to become arbiters in their own favor." The traveler concluded his letter by showing the loss which was caused by shipping in leaky flatboats. "Mould on the heads and

[23] Peter Mill to *id., ibid.*
[24] *Liberty Hall,* July 1, 1816.

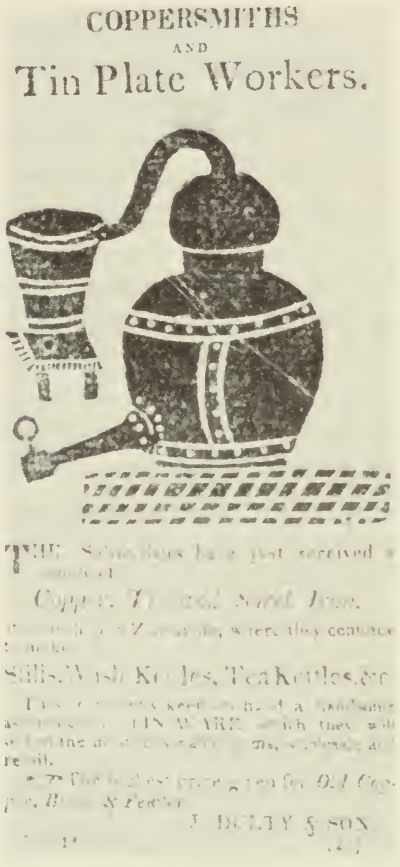
a little dampness of the flour, bring a cross, though the flour be yet sweet, which reduces the sale from one to two dollars; and unless there be a scarcity, it is certain to lie on hand and perish." This critical letter was written at a time when Ohio commerce was at a turning point. In fact the writer was a passenger on the *Enterprize,* the tiny steamboat which helped to usher in the new age.

Although flour became the great Ohio staple, it has already been shown that corn, marketed either as pork or whiskey, was scarcely less important. Millions of bushels of corn and rye passed through the primitive distilleries and the product, all too often, passed down the throats of the men who grew the grain. The statistics of 1820 reveal that even the newer counties, such as Union, Logan, and Sandusky, each supported two or more distilleries, while the older counties numbered them by the score. Jefferson, for some unknown reason, was able to support no less than one hundred ten, each of which consumed an average of four and one-half bushels of grain each day. William C. Howells, father of the novelist, spent a part of his boyhood in that county and in later years wrote an interesting description of the distilling business:[25] "No difference if grain was scarce or dear, or times hard, or the people poor, they would make and drink whiskey. And the number of little distilleries was wonderful. Within two miles of where we lived there were three of them. They were small concerns, but they produced enough. They were commonly fitted up with a twenty-five or forty-gallon still and a half a dozen tubs. They might, perhaps, have produced a barrel a day, if pushed to their capacity. The distillers would exchange a gallon of whiskey for a bushel of corn or rye, and when the whiskey-jug was empty, a boy would be sent on a bag of grain, perched on an old horse, to the still-house to make the exchange and renew the supply. People were not particular about the age of their liquor, and it was often drank on the day it was made."

The amount of whiskey consumed by the early settlers is truly appalling to the temperate mind. It served to enliven the social

[25] W. C. Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1895), 125.

gatherings, and to console those who were cursed by solitude. Men drank it raw from demijohns and the women doctored it with sugar and water. Advocates of temperance had only commenced their organizations in the pioneer period, their aim being to preach moderation, since abstinence was too much to hope for. By using certain returns from the counties made in 1820, it is possible to estimate the average local consumption of liquor. Coshocton County, with a population of 7,000, consumed the entire output of 14 stills, estimated at 10,000 gallons. Lawrence, with a population between three and four thousand, was forced to import over 2,000 gallons, since there were only four local stills, which did not produce more than that amount. The detailed statistics of Licking County have the appearance of being reliable. Thirty-eight stills, consuming 10,000 bushels of rye and 26,000 bushels of corn, produced 97,000 gallons of whiskey. Twenty-eight thousand gallons were exported, leaving 69,000 gallons to be consumed by a population of less than 12,000, enough, one may assume, to keep the adult male population in a constant state of mild intoxication.



22. STILL
From Zanesville (Ohio) *Muskingum Messenger,* Aug. 5, 1818.

Whiskey fluctuated in price with corn and rye. In 1820 prices were as low as twenty-five to forty cents a gallon, but this was in a period of serious depression. In 1816 the prices quoted in

a Chillicothe paper ranged from fifty-seven to seventy cents a gallon by the barrel. One way of arriving at the profits of the distillers is to calculate in terms of corn. A bushel of corn would ordinarily buy a gallon of whiskey, and the bushel of corn would make two and one-half gallons of liquor. With corn at twenty-five cents, and whiskey at seventy-five, not an unusual ratio, one's investment in raw material would be multiplied by seven and one-half times. The economies of large-scale production were evidently not very attractive. Even in Hamilton County small establishments seem to have been the rule. So widely dispersed was the industry one census reporter made this marginal note: "The distilling of spirits from grain has become so extensive in general, through the country, that the business is scarcely worth attention." This statement would be prized by a logician as a perfect *non sequitur.*

Special mills were to be found in at least ten counties for the manufacture of linseed-oil. The establishment at Chillicothe was possibly the largest in the State in 1820. It was equipped with a "patent lever press and screw, a barrel heater, and two large upright stones." Three thousand bushels of flaxseed passed through this mill in the year before the census was taken. The methods of manufacture are fairly clear, although the efficiency of the equipment must have varied greatly. The seed was first crushed by heavy millstones and the oil was then extracted by some sort of screw-press. The price of the oil was fairly steady at one dollar and a quarter a gallon. This industry was complementary to the white lead factories of Cincinnati. The manufacture of castor-oil was introduced to the State, about the year 1820, by the first doctor of Dresden, Muskingum County, named Nathan Webb. Two lodges of Shawnee Indians, encamped near Dresden at the time the doctor was first testing the product of his industry, are said to have been much impressed.[26]

Linseed-oil was a by-product of the numerous small fields of

[26] E. C. Brush, "Pioneer Physicians of the Muskingum Valley," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, III (1891), 258.

flax which furnished the raw material for the linen cloth which came from the domestic looms. Over ten thousand such looms were counted by Ohio census takers in 1810.[27] The manufacture of cloth might well be the subject of an entire chapter, but its nature may be outlined briefly. While every well-regulated household contained one or more spinningwheels and a loom, certain steps in the manufacture of cloth were taken over by factories, even in pioneer counties. The reports of 1820 reveal that carding-machines and fulling-mills were among the most widely distributed of local industries.

It would seem most strange to a pioneer housewife that the process of carding wool should ever require an explanation. She could not have counted the hours spent with a basket of wool at her side, all of which must be deftly carded before it could be spun upon the wool-wheel. The cards were a pair of fairly stiff wire brushes set into light rectangular wooden handles. The wool fibers were first straightened by brushing between the cards and then, by skillful manipulation of the brushes, made into a loose rope-like roll. The rapid introduction of carding machines is ample proof that hand-carding was considered much too costly in the amount of time it consumed, even in those days of household drudgery.

A Cincinnati paper of 1806 carried an elaborate advertisement of a carding-mill which had recently been placed in operation at a mill on Whitewater Creek.[28] The proprietors evidently felt that the women of the neighborhood were unacquainted with the merits of their machine, for they wrote an essay of explanation. Although such machines were new to Ohio, they were in general use in the East as well as in Europe. "As the rolls are free from dirt and knots, and the wool retains its full length, one third more can be spun in the same time than can be from hand carding." Moreover, the yarn would be much smoother and the cloth both handsomer and more durable. The owners requested that the wool be brought to the mill free from burrs and sticks and that one pound of grease should

[27] Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals . . . of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), 5n.

[28] *Liberty Hall,* June 16, 1806.

be brought with every eight pounds of wool. For their services they asked ten cents per pound; in later years this was reduced to eight or less. They promised to pack the rolls in such a way that they might be "carried on horse back 40 miles without injury." As an added inducement they agreed to receive wheat and pork in payment "if delivered before January next; and most kinds of produce if delivered in hand."

Machinery was also devised for dressing flax. A water-mill near Lancaster was devoted to this industry in 1816. A news item in a Columbus paper of 1823 shows the importance attached to the business:[29] "Messrs. Hines and Bain, of this town, have recently invented a machine for dressing flax or hemp, either rotted or unrotted, which machine we understand is now in successful operation in this place. We have not seen the machine ourselves but understand that it has been running some time, and bids fair to justify the most sanguine expectations of the public, who have watched its progress with much anxiety. . . ."

Housewives, with or without the aid of such machinery, produced the cloth for the needs of their families. The best flax was spun into fine thread for linen, from which shirts and finer clothing were made. The coarser quality was made into sheeting and "summer pantaloons" and other coarse garments. A mixed cloth with linen warp and woolen "filling" was the long-remembered linsey-woolsey, the common wearing apparel of women and children. Quite often it was woven in plaids of colors which, unfortunately, were much given to fading.

Heavy woolens for men's suits and other winter clothing, while woven on the family looms, were finished at a fulling-mill, if there were one in the neighborhood. The Census of 1820 indicates that such mills were in operation in all save the most sparsely settled counties. The fuller was adept at a number of operations. The cloth was cleaned, shrunk, dyed or bleached, brushed to raise the nap or sheared, as the case might be, and finally pressed. Carding- and fulling-mills were frequently combined in one establishment.

[29] Columbus *Gazette,* Jan. 2, 1823.

No less than fifteen men and six boys were engaged in these two industries in Harrison County alone, according to the Census of 1820. In Montgomery County, the gross income from this business was reported as over thirty thousand dollars.

The manufacture of cloth furnishes an interesting study in the decentralization of pioneer industry and at the same time offers what were probably the first examples of the factory system in Ohio. Mills for the manufacture of woolen cloth were reported in eight counties in the enumeration of 1820. For the most part these were small establishments, with fewer than ten employees, and their products were the cassinets, linseys, and other coarse woolens for which there was a local demand.

The woolen factory at Steubenville, which went into operation in the spring of 1815, was the pride of Ohio. Broadcloths manufactured by this concern were declared to be equal if not superior to imported woolens. Long staple wool was essential to the manufacture of these finer fabrics, and the importation of merino sheep, noted earlier, was an important factor in the rise of the industry. Bezaleel Wells, Jefferson County's leading citizen, was the moving spirit in the enterprise, although three others were associated with him in a partnership. The factory building itself was a matter for local pride. Over 100 feet long and three stories high, it was surmounted by a belfry which was appropriately decorated with a golden merino sheep by way of a weather-vane.

A sixteen horse-power steam-engine, installed by Latrobe, furnished the power for the mill. The various machines were asserted to be of the most advanced design. Spinning-jennies with a total of almost 600 spindles supplied the thread and yarn for 18 hand-looms of various types. Forty-eight men, twenty-seven women, and forty boys and girls were employed by the factory, according to the report of 1820. Many of the workmen were skilled artisans who had emigrated from Great Britain.[30]

The factory prospered for a short period but met disaster in the

[30] W. H. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson County," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, VI (1898), 235.

Panic of 1819, forcing the proprietors into bankruptcy. Its history is summarized in a note appended to the report made in 1820: "This establishment was intended for manufacturing the finest kind of broadcloths; and machinery, adapted to such manufactures, was obtained, believed to be of the best kind, and, with the exception of 2 or 3 articles, as complete as possessed by any similar establishment. Machinery has been added for the manufacture of coarse cloths, and both are now in full operation; workmen employed mostly Europeans; was commenced in 1814, with a good prospect, but the war ceased, and with it the circumstances of the country changed. The market was filled with foreign woolens, and the merchants universally gave them a decided preference in their purchases, and discouraged by every means, the purchase or use of our own productions. By hostile and foreign rivalry, the establishment has not been destroyed, but has been continued in operation at a loss of more than $40,000. When the hope of protection from Government ceased, the establishment went into the hands of new proprietors, since which time a favorable change has taken place. The people of the country are determined to use our fabrics in preference to foreign. On trial, they were found more durable, and in all respects equal to foreign articles, yet the demand is limited, and sales effected with difficulty."

The balance sheet submitted to the census taker in 1820 showed a slight profit. The product for the year was valued at $55,000, the highest for any establishment in the State, except two iron-works. Twenty-five tons of merino and common wool were used, together with 1,000 pounds of cotton warping. The cost of the raw materials was placed at $29,700. Wages totalled $18,000 and contingent expense $5,000 more. The net income was therefore only $2,300 on an investment of $40,000. The distressing history of the Steubenville concern furnished a telling argument for the necessity of a protective tariff, and it was so used by Ohio's representatives in Congress.

The expensive broadcloths of Steubenville were not for the average Ohioan, unless possibly for his wedding-suit. Homespun

fabrics continued in common use as late as the Civil War period. Felt hats, however, were beyond the skill of even the more ingenious housewives, and hatters were as commonly found in the villages as were shoemakers. No fewer than 23 men were engaged in the craft in Fairfield County in 1820, and in Greene County, nine men used 225 dozen rabbit skins, 2062 raccoon skins, 100 ounces of beaver fur and 550 pounds of wool in the course of one year. In Hamilton County, hats were reported as selling at from one to $18.00, but the market was dull because of foreign importations. Some idea of the hatter's business may be gained from a series of advertisements which appeared in the Chillicothe papers.[31] Samuel M'Pherrin, in January, 1811, opened a shop "a few doors above the Red Lion Tavern, in Water Street," and respectfully informed the public that he had hats for sale, and that he would give hats or cash for all kinds of fur, or for clean lamb's wool. In August of the same year he advertised for a "good steady boy, from 15 to 17 years of age," as an apprentice. In February, 1815, he inserted the following notice in the local paper:

"I wish to purchase furs of all kinds, and particularly I wish country boys to be more industrious than they were last winter in catching rabbits, and bring me the skins; for which I will give a liberal price, either in cash or good hats.

"As usual, I have on hand a good assortment of hats which I will sell on moderate terms. Merchants purchasing by the dozen, shall have a considerable discount.

"Country produce of almost any kind will be taken in payment for Hats."

Dyeing was an important process in the manufacture of both textiles and hats; in some communities it was established as a separate industry. The pioneer housewife commonly manufactured her own dyes from butternut, hickory, oak-galls, sumac, and other materials which were near at hand, using alum as a mordant. Numerous early advertisements indicate that these housewives,

[31] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Independent Republican,* Jan. 3, Aug. 22, 1811; *Supporter,* June 25, 1814; Feb. 14, 1815.

or more probably their daughters, were in search of livelier colors than could be produced by these primitive methods. A Mr. Long, of Cincinnati, advertised in 1806 that he was in the "Dying Business." Linens, cotton, and woolen yarn and clothing could be dyed blue, but only woolens could be had in red.[32] William Stubbs, who opened a shop in Chillicothe in 1809, was more versatile. He offered to dye linen and cotton yarn blue, Nankeen, purple, slate, chocolate, brown, and turkey red. He "flattered himself" in thinking that his European training would enable him to please his customers.[33] One should also mention a blue-dyeing establishment in the Cincinnati market house, since it was conducted by Mrs. Looker, the only instance of a woman proprietor encountered among thousands of advertisements.[34]

Dyestuffs were an important item in Ohio's imports. In one barge which arrived at Cincinnati from New Orleans in 1816, eight tons of copperas and five tons of logwood, used for black and brown dyes, were a part of the cargo.[35] African camwood and European madder, for reds, and East Indian curcuma and fustic, for yellows, together with copperas, blue vitriol, and alum, are all listed among the contents of general stores.[36] It was discovered that copperas could be manufactured in certain sections of eastern Ohio, where water draining from side-hill coal mines was impregnated with iron sulphate.

Among the mineral resources of Ohio, salt was most highly prized by the pioneer.[37] Only this fact can explain the anxiety shown at the time of the admission of the State over the saline springs in Jackson County, and the tremendous amount of labor expended in digging wells in the hope of finding salt-water. The labor was not in vain, for salt, which was sometimes scarce at eight dollars a bushel in the earlier years, was plentiful at eight dollars a barrel by 1820. Exploratory wells were drilled by the spring-pole method

[32] *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 15, 1806.
[33] *Supporter,* Dec. 16, 1809.
[34] *Liberty Hall,* Apr. 8, 1815.
[35] *Ibid.,* Aug. 12, 1816.
[36] *Ibid.,* Aug. 31, 1822.
[37] J. P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1890), 31.

in almost every section of the State, but only those which furnished the saltiest brine continued in operation after means of transportation had improved. The most important furnaces in 1820 were located in Jackson, Muskingum, and Morgan counties. The enormous beds of rock salt underlying sections of Meigs County and the neighborhoods of Cleveland and Akron were at such a depth that they were not discovered in the pioneer period.[38] Possibly the most important well drilled prior to 1820 was in the neighborhood of Zanesville. This well which reached a depth of 800 feet was dug in 1817 by Jacob Ayres. The water was so high in salt content that salt could be sold at a dollar and a half a bushel.[39]

The first salt-works of importance in the State were those in Jackson County along Salt Creek, a tributary of the Scioto. A traveler who visited the furnaces in 1812, has left a description of the operations.[40] There were sixteen furnaces, each of which could produce over seventy bushels of salt in 24 hours. The furnaces were simply constructed by digging a long trench in a clay bank. Ninety kettles, each of which held 30 gallons, were mounted in two rows over this trench. As the water evaporated in the kettles nearest the mouth of the furnace, the strong brine was ladled to those nearest the chimney. Corn-meal or tallow was added to hasten crystallization. At these Scioto salt-works 600 gallons of water were evaporated to produce one bushel of salt, a costly business certainly. The Zanesville well, already referred to, produced one pound of salt to each gallon of water. The statistics of 1820 reveal that salt-making was a profitable business. In Muskingum County, for example, $61,780 worth of salt was produced at a cost of $8,601 in labor and incidental expense. These figures probably did not include the value of the timber which was cut to feed the furnaces. The problem of fuel became serious after the neighboring forests had been consumed.

Insistent as was the demand for salt, the need for iron was even

[38] Roderick Peattie, *Geography of Ohio* (Columbus, 1923), 75.
[39] *Supporter,* Dec. 30, 1817, quoting Zanesville (Ohio) *Express.*
[40] Jervis Cutler, *Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana. . . .* (Boston, 1812), 32f.

more imperative. Axes, hoes, scythes, sickles, log-chains, plow shares, and augers, were required even on the more primitive farms, while hollow-ware, ranging in size from the smallest skillet to the ninety-gallon salt kettles, was almost as necessary. Nails and other building hardware were in demand as the log cabins were supplanted by frame houses. Bar iron from western Pennsylvania found a ready market in Ohio with the appearance of the first blacksmiths. Better grades of iron, including bundles of iron rods especially prepared for nail-makers, and English and Swedish steel were frequently listed among imports from New Orleans.

This demand, coupled with the almost prohibitive freight rates, made it profitable to work the lean ore found in certain sections of the State. The richer deposits in Scioto County, in what is usually referred to as the Hanging Rock area, which were later so profitably exploited, were not opened until 1827, when the pioneer period was coming to a close.[41] The tabulation of 1820 indicates that furnaces were operating in Adams, Columbiana, Licking, Muskingum, Stark, and Trumbull counties, all apparently working local ores. The Hopewell Furnace, the first within the State, was erected about the year 1804 by James and Daniel Heaton, the site being at the mouth of Yellow Creek, a short distance from the village of Youngstown. Various members of the Heaton family were active in the smelting and forging of iron in the Mahoning Valley for many years thereafter. Moses Dillon was the first man to realize the possibilities of the Zanesville region as an iron center. In 1809 he erected a furnace and forge at the Falls of the Licking River, a few miles up-stream from Zanesville. His establishment prospered and at times as many as 150 men were in his employ.[42]

The furnaces were fairly uniform in appearance. Built and lined with native stone, they were frequently erected against the side of a bluff, in order that the ore, limestone, and charcoal might be thrown into the furnace from the upper level. The blast was sup-

[41] F. H. Rowe, *History of the Iron and Steel Industry of Scioto County, Ohio* (Columbus, 1938), 8.

[42] J. G. Butler, Jr., *History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley* (Chicago and New York, 1921), I, 670.

plied by bellows or cylindrical compressors usually operated by a water-wheel. Charcoal, burned in the neighboring timber, was commonly used as fuel. The ores seldom yielded as much as a third of their weight in iron, which meant that a dozen men, by dint of hard labor could seldom produce more than three tons of pig iron in the course of a day. Castings of all varieties were made at these furnaces but bar iron was also produced, in fact James Heaton developed a malleable iron of excellent quality as early as 1809 by a process resembling puddling. The forging of pig iron or blooms was, of course, a separate business and the crude metal was at times transported considerable distances, although more frequently the same ironmaster operated both furnace and forge.

Eleven forges, erected between the years 1809 and 1826, are listed by an authority on Ohio's early iron industry.[43] They were located in or near the towns of Niles, Zanesville, Lisbon, West Union, Bainbridge, Jacksonville, Granville, Middleburg, Parkman, and Concord. All were established within a convenient distance of furnaces with the exception of the two forges near Bainbridge which were supplied with pig iron from the Marble Furnace in Adams County, 25 miles away. These early forges were blacksmith shops built on a large scale, with hammer and bellows driven by water-power. The pig iron was heated in the intense charcoal fire and then placed under the hammer and shaped into the desired bar or plate. By this process the metal was purified and made suitable for the village blacksmiths. The tilt-hammer, which weighed as much as a ton, was constructed as a lever, the hammer being moved through a short arc by the motion of a cam which acted on the other end of the beam. The hammers were slow and the air-blast was often inadequate, but these early forges served well in their day and laid the foundation for one of Ohio's most important industries.

In the light of later industrial history, the inexhaustible clays and shales should be ranked as Ohio's most valuable mineral resources. Prior to 1825 the manufacture of pottery gave only an inti-

[43] Wilber Stout,."Early Forges in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVI, 25-41.



23. RED WARE
Manufactured in Ohio prior to 1825. In possession of Ohio State Museum.

mation of the tremendous importance which the industry was to attain in later years. The statistics compiled in 1820 clearly indicate that the business was widely spread, for no fewer than twenty counties, ranging from Ashtabula in the northeast to Clermont in the southwest reported potteries, usually with only one or two workmen and a single kiln. In Muskingum County alone had the industry reached something like mature proportions. Business was reported as "brisk" in the latter county, while the smaller establishments complained of declining sales, which may be taken as proof that the industry was in a state of transition and was tending to become centralized.

Judging from the large amounts of lead listed as the only raw material required in addition to the native clays, as well as from the dispersion of the industry, one may conclude that "red ware" comprised the output of most of these early kilns. Beautiful in

color, but soft and easily broken, this ware was less practical than the vitreous stoneware which rapidly superseded it for household use. Various types of clay could be utilized in making the red earthenware but only clays associated with the coal measures were suitable for the harder type. This accounts for the early dominance of the eastern counties in the industry. Stoneware was glazed by the use of common salt while the pottery was being fired. Potteries in Muskingum and Washington counties listed salt among the raw materials used, which is sufficient proof that stoneware was in production.

The establishment at Zanesville deserves particular attention, since its output very nearly equaled that of all the others combined. Twelve men and boys were employed and the yearly output was valued at $13,000.00, of which more than $7,000.00 was clear profit. The list of raw materials is revealing to those interested in ceramics. In addition to 200 tons of clay and 300 cords of wood, salt, red and bar lead, manganese, powder blue (cobalt silicate), copper filings, block tin, and plaster of Paris are mentioned. The metals listed were used in glazing or in coloring the pottery. Manganese, for example, produced a brown which in molded ware was known as "Rockingham." These details are worthy of mention since they indicate a more advanced stage of the industry than is usually assumed by authorities in the field.[44]

In the foregoing pages those industries have been described which are judged to have been most important because they were most widely distributed. Many other enterprises would be included in a complete survey. The manufacture of looms, carding-machines, mill machinery, including steam-engines, deserves to be mentioned. Certain domestic manufactures, such as candle-, soap- and glove-making, were passing into the factory stage along with weaving. Jewelers, silversmiths, and even a piano-maker were to be found in Cincinnati. Tin- and coppersmiths practised their craft in several centers, with stills as their principal product. There were also wagon-makers, wheelwrights, and makers of farm

[44] John Ramsey, *American Potters and Pottery* (Boston, 1939).

implements. Muskingum and Hamilton counties boasted of glass-works which were manufacturing both window-glass and hollow-ware before 1820, in competition with the Pittsburgh glass-makers. Small paper-mills were established in several localities. In variety of manufactures and total value of goods produced, Hamilton and Muskingum counties were decidedly in the lead, with 30 or more distinct types of industry listed in the tabulation of 1820.

Ohio's industries have been described as they existed in 1820 simply because fairly trustworthy material is available for such a study. One might wish for similar data covering the year 1815 or 1825, in order that the effects of the war might be gauged or the industrial situation described as it was immediately before the improvement of transportation wrought such changes in Ohio's outlook. It would be more profitable still to trace the inception and growth of each industry, if that were possible, for Ohio's factories, far from insignificant even in the depression following 1819, did not come into being suddenly. As early as 1799 blacksmiths, millers, saddlers, hatters, dyers, tanners, bakers, potters, gunsmiths, and cabinetmakers were advertising in Cincinnati papers.

The immigrants who settled Ohio were all potential customers, especially if they had migrated from sections of the East where manufactured goods were taken as a matter of course, and among their numbers were many craftsmen as well as potential farmers. Individual craftsmen might come to the West bringing with them the tools of their profession, or they might turn to their old trades after becoming discouraged in other ventures. Travelers from the East who came "to view the country" often returned after a period of rumination with a well-developed plan for a new enterprise. Such was the case of Moses Dillon who was accompanying a Quaker preacher on a visit to the Wyandot encampment on the Licking River, when his trained eye saw the iron ore and the abundant water-power at the falls. He returned within a few months to establish the Licking Furnace.

Industries, once established, attracted skilled workmen from the East, who may have been lured both by the wages and the oppor-

tunity for investing them profitably. Under the head "Stocking Weaving," the following advertisement appeared in a Zanesville paper:

"A Person from England is desirous of ascertaining if there be any Frame Smith, Sinker, and Needle Maker, amongst the vast emigration that has arrived in Ohio, or the neighboring states, in order that he may form a just conception how far it may be practicable to introduce so useful a branch of Manufacture into this part of the union.

"Should this meet the eye of any who can make the Machine, the advertiser is ready to listen to any reasonable proposition, which may be sent to the editor (post paid) for W.M.W. who will pay every attention to the same." [45]

Among the letters of Nathaniel Massie are a number from skilled workmen in search of employment. A certain Daniel Connor, in 1808, wrote in regard to opening an iron-works: "Altho a Stranger to you Sir, I take the liberty of informing you, that I have been engaged in that Business a number of years & profess to understand the Furnace as well as the Forge business. At present I am not engaged in eighther [*sic*]. I would willingly assist actively or with Counsel in eighther of the above branches. I am also acquainted with different Kinds of Iron Ore—If you should think a personal Interview necessary & and will inform me by the Bearer Mr. Stephen Radcliffe, I will cheerfully wait on you when & where you may direct. . . ." [46] A similar letter from John Cross, a paper-maker trained in England, states that he could make as good paper as anybody and that he was looking for a site for a paper-mill in the Chillicothe neighborhood.[47] Letters such as these, multiplied a hundred times, might give a true picture of the founding of Ohio's infant industries.

The growth of Ohio industries was made at the expense of the East; craftsmen were imported in preference to the products of eastern factories. While this followed from natural economic causes,

[45] Zanesville (Ohio) *Muskingum Messenger,* Aug. 27, 1817.
[46] Daniel Connor to Nathaniel Massie, Scioto Salt Works, May 18, 1808, Massie MSS.
[47] John Cross to *id.*, Georgetown, Ky., Feb. 24, 1810, *ibid.*

it was deliberately supported as a policy. The conclusion of the War of 1812 roughly marks a transition, in Ohio, from the stage of domestic manufactures to the establishment of factories with the purpose of attaining provincial self-sufficiency. The embargo which preceded the war, while it was not without effect in Ohio, did not result in the birth of infant industries as it did in the East. Consequently there was little interest in the Tariff of 1816; the newspapers of Cincinnati from 1815 to 1817, at any rate, gave scant attention to the measure.

Manufactures were encouraged in order to remedy the vicious commercial system by which Ohioans were victimized. A contributor to *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati) writing in 1815, illustrated that system most clearly.[48] Assuming that the country around Cincinnati produced $600,000.00 annually, and that $200,000.00 was consumed locally, another one-third would be sent to New Orleans to pay for purchases made there, and the other third would go to the East in the form of specie to pay for English importations or eastern manufactures. "We ask candid men," the writer continued, "to inform us how and in what manner this kind of trade will increase the capital of the western country?" The answer was, of course, that it could not. The solution which the writer offered was to "put in operation in Cincinnati manufactures, for woolen cloth, for glassware of every description, for straw hats, and every article which is imported but can be manufactured in Cincinnati. Let the two hundred thousand dollars which we send over the mountains be paid the manufacturers in Cincinnati for the above articles. This would keep so much of our wealth at home; thereby increasing its productive manufacturing industry. . . ." Similar arguments from other newspapers throughout the State might be cited by the score.[49]

While states in the East were waxing enthusiastic over the benefits of a protective tariff, Ohioans were organizing societies for the "Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures," and they meant Ohio

[48] *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 14, 1815.

[49] *Ibid.,* Aug. 28, 1815; Sept. 22, 1817; Zanesville *Express,* Feb. 3, 1813; May 25, 1815; June 13, Sept. 19, 1816; Cincinnati *Western Spy,* Nov. 17, 1815; *Philanthropist* (Hamilton, O.), Apr. 26, 1816; *Supporter,* July 21, 28, 1819; Lisbon *Ohio Patriot* Mar. 17, 1821.

manufactures when they said "domestic." [50] These societies became more numerous with the depression of 1819, when every one was attempting to explain why the times were out of joint. In Cincinnati William Henry Harrison lent his prestige to the organization, and Judge Jacob Burnet sponsored a set of rules by which members were to be guided.[51] Extravagances of all sorts were to be avoided: no imported liquors, fruits, or preserves were to be purchased; in matters of dress, necessity rather than convenience, utility rather than ornament, were to determine purchases, and whenever possible, preference should be given to domestic manufactures. Nor did the movement stop there. Following the suggestion of Harrison, the General Assembly passed an act to exempt woolen- and cotton-mills, iron- and glass-works from taxation.[52] Merchants were asked to agree to sell only Ohio woolens, principally because the Steubenville Woolen Mill was in dire straits. The acme of the movement was reached when it was proposed to aid that mill by a direct appropriation, the money to be taken from the tax on the Bank of the United States.[53] The movement was commonly associated with projects for the improvement of agricultural methods. Prizes were offered at the county fairs, which were becoming more popular, for the best steer, the finest glassware, the handsomest coverlet, the best broadcloth and flannel, and the heaviest fleece of merino wool.[54]

The Panic of 1819, disastrous as it was, could not completely discourage these people; it only led them to ponder over their plight and to develop solutions. The thoughts of many turned toward the banks as holding the key to the problem, confusing money and wealth, as many Americans have done since those early days. The chapter which follows will discuss the State banks and the Second Bank of the United States, the part they played in the history of the period and how the struggle between the two banking systems resulted in an economic explosion with political implications.

[50] Warren (Ohio) *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Apr. 13, 1822; *Ohio Patriot,* Jan. 8, 29, 1820; Steubenville (Ohio) *Western Herald,* May 2, 1817.
[51] *Ohio Patriot,* Oct. 30, 1819, quoting Zanesville *Express.*
[52] Act of Jan. 27, 1823.
[53] *Liberty Hall,* Feb. 22, 1820.
[54] *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Apr. 13, 1822.

CHAPTER X

Financial Disaster

DISASTER overtook Ohio before the young State had reached its twentieth anniversary. This was the economic prostration which is remembered as the Panic of 1819. These depressions, with which the United States has been afflicted periodically, are all the more painful because they follow intervals of prosperity, which makes the times seem harder still because of the bitter contrast. The years immediately after the war gave Ohioans the right to dream of the coming of a golden age. The menace of the Indians had been quieted, the best lands under heaven were open to purchase on ridiculously easy terms, and able-bodied men in countless thousands were coming from the East to enter into their inheritance. Among these thousands were skilled craftsmen who turned their hands to old trades, giving such an impetus to young manufacturing establishments that provincial independence seemed within reach. Even the more stolid citizens grew enthusiastic over the unquestioned success of steamboat transportation, and the bright prospect for commerce which that seemed to guarantee. Then came the eclipse, and several years elapsed before the vision was restored.

The economic situation of Ohio was not fundamentally sound, as has been repeatedly pointed out in earlier chapters. The prosperity of 1817 and early 1818 was more apparent than real. So long as there was an adverse balance between exports and imports, there was no way of liquidating the debts owed by Ohioans to the United States Government and to eastern creditors. During a short period the inflation, produced by the overissue of bank credits, gave the impression that the imbalance no longer existed. When that inflation was brought to a sudden end, through unexpected

restriction of credit by the Bank of the United States, the dream was rudely shattered. After a period of painful deflation Ohio's banks were placed on a solid footing, but "prosperity" was not restored. Until the canals and other improvements in transportation enabled Ohio to compete successfully in her natural markets, there was no true solution to her economic dilemma.

Certain events of importance enable one to subdivide the history of Ohio's financial institutions for convenience of exposition.[1] Prior to January, 1815, Ohio's few banks had been conservatively managed, but in that month they suspended specie payment, being forced thereto by similar action in eastern financial centers. A period of unrestrained inflation ensued. The State, witnessing the marvelous profits derived from banking, entered into a curious partnership with the banks under the provisions of the so-called "bonus law." Branches of the Bank of the United States were established in Cincinnati and Chillicothe in 1817. For more than a year these branches actually encouraged the inflationary movement; through liberal loans they assumed the greater part of the debt which Ohioans owed to the Government and to eastern creditors. Because of the general feeling of confidence, the State banks nominally resumed specie payment, although they were not actually compelled to prove their soundness. In July, 1818, the directors of the Bank of the United States, almost without warning, reversed their policy of liberality and called upon the State banks to redeem the paper which hitherto had been freely accepted. In the impasse with which the State banks were confronted suspension was inevitable. The banks, in a powerless situation themselves, harassed their debtors who were equally helpless. Wholesale bankruptcy followed and the newspapers printed whole pages of advertisements of sheriff's sales. In their extremity the people appealed to the State government for protection and certain palliatives in the form of stay laws were offered them. State bankers and

[1] The following works have been frequently consulted: R. C. H. Catterall, *Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903); C. C. Huntington, "History of Banking and Currency in Ohio before the Civil War," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXIV (1915), 235-539; *American State Papers, Finance* (Washington, D. C., 1832-59), IV.

the people generally united in a hue and cry against the Bank of the United States, with results which are familiar to any student of the history of the United States. Ten years elapsed between the commencement of the period of inflation in 1815 and the return of prosperity in 1825.

It has already been observed that the system of barter was widely used in the first stages of Ohio's economic development. The farmer required money only to pay his taxes and the installments on his farm. The merchants and other importers, however, were faced with a more complex problem. If their goods came from the East, the cost of freighting must be paid in cash while balances with eastern firms must be settled at the end of six months, if interest charges were to be avoided. Imports from New Orleans were easily paid for in produce, but if one exported to the South and imported from the East there was some difficulty at times in completing the third side of the triangular transaction. The need for banks was obvious, both to meet local requirements and to facilitate intersectional exchange. The farmer would be able to mortgage his land or live stock in order to meet emergencies; the merchant could borrow on his stock of goods, could send drafts to settle his balances, or could draw sight-drafts on the firms to which exports had been consigned in New Orleans or elsewhere. With the growth of manufactures the need of credit facilities was still more imperative. There is little indication of the importation of capital from the East aside from the considerable sums brought by the immigrants themselves. The earlier banks were stock companies whose shares were openly placed on sale. Control naturally passed into the hands of the prosperous men of the community, usually the leading merchants, land speculators, or mill-owners. These individuals, although reputed to be men of means, were actually so involved in speculative enterprises, that they were often the best customers of their own banks. One might assume that bankers should be lenders rather than borrowers of money, but such was not the rule in early Ohio banks, nor in banks of other states, for that matter. On the contrary, many bank directors were

interested not so much in dividends as in the usefulness of the bank in broadening the scope of their own activities.

The first bank in Ohio was incorporated by the first legislature to meet after the admission of the State. The Miami Exporting Company, chartered April 15, 1803, was unique in many respects.[2] Although it was engaged exclusively in banking operations after March, 1807, it was founded ostensibly as a cooperative exporting company. A minor clause in the charter permitted the company to issue "notes payable to the bearer and assignable by delivery only." The charge was frequently made both at the time and in later years that banking privileges were obtained surreptitiously, but this was convincingly denied by Judge Jacob Burnet, who was familiar with the company from its inception.[3] According to his account the company grew out of suggestions made by Jesse Hunt, an active business man of Cincinnati, who argued that the expense of exporting to New Orleans might be reduced if the producers of the Miami Valley in substantial numbers would market their goods cooperatively. The idea was received enthusiastically by the business men of Cincinnati and farmers of the neighborhood. The application for a charter, which had been drafted by Hunt and a few friends, was made with the full expectation of establishing an exporting business. The banking clause was inserted with the thought that if the commercial experiment should fail, as it did within four years, the company might continue as a bank. There was no motive for concealment, for although it was generally held at the time that sufficient capital was not available for organizing a useful bank, there was no antagonism towards banks as such.

The charter, which was to run for forty years, provided for eleven directors to be chosen annually. Capital stock was fixed at $500,000, to be divided into shares of $100 each. Five dollars must be paid in cash at the time of subscribing, the balance to be paid in produce during the next two years. One authority estimates that not more than $200,000 of the stock was ever purchased.

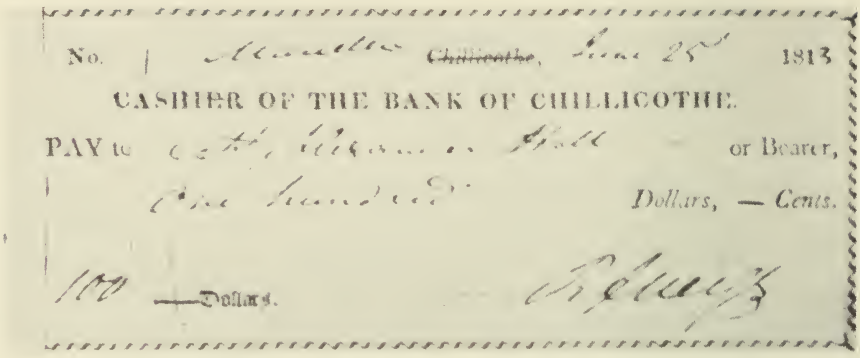
[2] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Acts*, 1 Assemb., 1803, 126-36.

[3] Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-western Territory* (New York, 1847), 398.

Daniel Drake, however, wrote in 1815 that 190 persons owned stock valued at $450,000.[4] The following extract from a Cincinnati newspaper of July, 1806, indicates that the company was operating according to its original plan: "The Miami Exporting Company, will receive stall fed beef-cattle on foot, corn fed pork, tallow, lard in suitable kegs, flour and kiln-dried corn-meal inspected, cordage of particular descriptions, hemp, spunyarn, pot and pearl ashes and tobacco—towards the produce instalments of shares the approaching season, provided good and merchantable, and delivered to the agent of the Company at Cincinnati, at the times and prices that shall be fixed on hereafter." [5]

It is reasonable to assume, in the absence of other information, that the exporting business was abandoned because it was not as profitable as had been anticipated. During the same period, however, a number of firms were established in Cincinnati which engaged in the New Orleans trade with apparent success. Martin Baum, the capable leader of the Cincinnati Germans, was a pioneer in this business; he had also been a leader in the establishment of the company.[6] As a bank, the company seems to have served its community well. Drake wrote that "the reputation and notoriety of this institution are equal to that of any bank in the western country; and its dividends correspond, having for several years fluctuated between 10 and 15 per cent." [7] Because of its prestige or the liberal charter under which it operated, the Miami Exporting Company considered itself exempt from many acts of the General Assembly passed for the regulation of banks. It did not accept a new charter under the "bonus law" and was not generally listed among the chartered banks of the State. It was borne down, along with other Cincinnati banks, by the depression of 1819. It suspended all banking operations in 1822, but was revived in 1834 only to fail in 1842, a year before its charter expired.[8]

[4] Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 150.
[5] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Mercury,* July 21, 1806.
[6] Burnet, *Notes,* 400.
[7] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 150.
[8] Huntington, "History of Banking," 260.


No. 1 Chillicothe, June 25th 1813
CASHIER OF THE BANK OF CHILLICOTHE.
PAY to [illegible] or Bearer,
[illegible] Dollars, — Cents.
100 — Dollars.

24. PERSONAL CHECK SIGNED BY R. J. MEIGS, JR.
In possession of Ohio State Museum.

The first banks regularly authorized were established in the towns of Marietta, Chillicothe, and Steubenville. The charters, which were granted in 1808 and 1809, while differing in details, were essentially similar. The banks of Chillicothe and Steubenville were limited in capital to $100,000 while that of Marietta was permitted to sell stock to a total of $500,000, although it is doubtful if that amount was ever sold. The charters set certain restrictions on the amount of real estate that the bank might own, and provided that not more than six per cent. interest might be charged on loans, but no limit was placed on the amount of notes that might be issued, nor did they specify how the notes were to be redeemed. One limit only had been placed on the banks: their total indebtedness should not exceed three times their capital.[9]

The notes issued by these banks were printed in sheets from plates which were usually engraved in the East. The signatures of both president and cashier were required to make them negotiable. Thomas Worthington, at a time when he was president of the Bank of Chillicothe, tells of a day spent with John Woodbridge, the cashier, in signing his name to notes.[10] The task was laborious, for there were 1,000 sheets arranged with one one-dollar note, two of

[9] *Ibid.*, 261; Ohio Laws, *Acts*, 6 Assemb., 1808, 41.
[10] Thomas Worthington, Diary, MS., Sept. 24, 1812.

five, and one of ten. With his pen Worthington thus did his half of creating $21,000.

It is difficult to picture accurately the manner in which these early banks conducted their business. The following "extracts from the by-laws," published by the Bank of Chillicothe shortly after it opened for business, are worth reprinting:[11]

"Sec. 1. The Bank shall be open for ordinary business, from ten o'clock in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, except on discount days, when it shall be open 'till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Sundays, Christmas day, public fasts, thanksgiving days, the first of January and the fourth of July excepted.

"Sec. 2. The Bank shall take charge of the cash of all such persons as shall choose to place it here, free of expence, and shall keep it subject to the order of the depositor, payable at sight.

"Sec. 3. That all bills and notes offered for discount, shall be delivered into the Bank on Tuesday in each week, during Bank hours, and may be drawn for on the following day, at any time after one o'clock. Notes or bills not discounted shall be returned at any time after one o'clock. . . .

"Sec. 10. Payments made at the Bank shall be examined at the time, and if any error be then found, it shall be immediately corrected, but no error suggested afterwards shall be corrected.

"Sec. 23. No bill for a less sum than fifty dollars shall be discounted at this Bank.

"Sec. 26. The book of transfers shall be shut fourteen days immediately preceding the day appointed for declaring a dividend. [That is, no sales of stock would be recognized in that period.]"

A later notice in the same paper informed the merchants that "the Bank of Chillicothe issues checks on Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington, payable at sight for a premium of half per cent. and will receive in exchange, in addition to its own notes and specie, the notes of the different banks in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee."

After the chartering of the Bank of Steubenville in 1809, no

[11] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter*, Jan. 26, 1809.

more banks were authorized until 1812. In 1811 the charter of the First Bank of the United States was not renewed, which left the field open for an increase in state banking. Ohio shared in the general movement by chartering four new banks between 1812 and 1814. These included the Western Reserve Bank at Warren, the Bank of Muskingum at Zanesville, the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank in Cincinnati, and the Dayton Manufacturing Company, each having a capital of $100,000 except the bank in Cincinnati, which was for twice that amount. There were certain innovations in the charter of the Zanesville bank: notes were not to be issued in excess of three times the amount of the capital stock paid in, stockholders were not eligible for dividends until their shares had been paid for, and the State reserved the right to tax the institution. The charter of the new bank in Cincinnati was interesting in that it required that one-third of the directors should be active farmers and the same proportion mechanics, thereby giving real significance to the name which the bank had chosen.[12]

Ohio's eight banks served well during the War of 1812; their credit was superior to that of the Government of the United States. In order to assist the State in meeting its share of the direct war tax and to aid in financing military operations on the northern frontier, the banks printed notes in such large amounts that a degree of inflation resulted. Because of government expenditures and other factors, there seems to have been a fairly adequate specie backing for these notes. The best indication of their soundness was that although there was a general suspension of specie payment on the Eastern Seaboard after the British invasion of Washington in August, 1814, the precedent was not followed in Ohio until the following January, and then most reluctantly. The suspension was made inevitable by the traffic in specie in which a number of eastern banks engaged, whereby gold and silver in reality became articles of commerce rather than mediums of exchange.[13] The hesitancy of conservative bankers in taking the drastic step is revealed in a

[12] Ohio Laws, *Acts,* 11 Assemb., 1813, 81.

[13] Zanesville (Ohio) *Express,* Sept. 19, 1816.

letter of Dudley Woodbridge to Benjamin Ives Gilman, both of whom were stockholders in the Bank of Marietta: "I will not allow myself to believe there will be a necessity for stopping the payment of specie by the Banks in this state—Such a measure in this quarter would I think seal the ruin of Banking Institutions in this state, or at all events would give such a shock to the credit of the bank paper, as it would not recover for 10 years—Besides it would hold out such inducements for fraud by issuing a large amount of Bank-paper that the legislature would not sanction the measure—My determination is to oppose the adoption of such a measure while a dollar remains in our vaults." [14] This prophetic letter was written in September, 1814, shortly after the general suspension in the East. After the banks of Ohio had followed suit in January, a group of prominent citizens of Cincinnati including a number of leading bankers, issued a series of resolutions whereby they hoped to bolster the credit of the banks by an appeal to local pride. Suspension had been forced upon Ohio banks by the policies of eastern financiers, they wrote, and resumption could not be hoped for until eastern banks set the precedent. In the meantime there should be no loss of faith in local banks. The true enemies of prosperity, declared the bankers, were those who tried to sell western paper at a discount, and those who exported specie were described as traitors to the West.

Mere resolutions could not counteract the effects of the suspension, nor was there any agent strong enough to shut the flood-gates of inflation which were opened thereby. The dire prophecy of Woodbridge materialized; ten disastrous years were to elapse before Ohio's banks were again upon a sound foundation. Inflation did not come immediately after suspension, in fact it was not felt appreciably for more than a year, nor should suspension be considered as a cause of inflation, since it served only as the initial step in that direction.

During the two years, 1815 and 1816, the number of chartered banks in Ohio increased from eight to twenty-one. By estimation,

[14] Letter dated Marietta, Sept. 22, 1814, Woodbridge-Gallaher MSS.

in the absence of reliable statistics, the capitalization increased from one and one-half to three million dollars.[15] The legislature which met in December, 1815, almost a year after the banks had stopped paying specie for their notes, passed the famous "bonus law" under which this rapid increase took place. Governor Thomas Worthington, who was somewhat alarmed by the growing demand for bank charters, wrote a letter to Ralph Osborn, the State auditor, about a month before the convening of the General Assembly asking if it might not be desirable, both as a source of revenue and as a means of exercising control, for the State to acquire stock in the banks which it chartered. Osborn replied that the idea was sound in his opinion, and that since the charters of all save one of the State banks would expire in 1818, it might be well to incorporate as many old and new banks as might be deemed safe, with the proviso that the State should take one-fifth of the stock, to be purchased with prospective dividends. In return for this grant of stock the banks were to be exempt from taxation. Osborn estimated that at the end of ten years the accumulated dividends would have paid for a million dollars' worth of stock, on which the State might expect an annual revenue of $120,000. Shortly after receiving Osborn's letter, Worthington submitted a special message to the legislature in which he showed the need of regulating banks if wild speculation were to be avoided. He spoke also of Osborn's proposal, submitting it, as he said, to the "good judgement" of the legislators.[16] That the governor of Ohio was unable to foresee the dangers of the partnership, and that the General Assembly should have approved it, reveals clearly enough that Ohioans had become infected with the speculative fever.

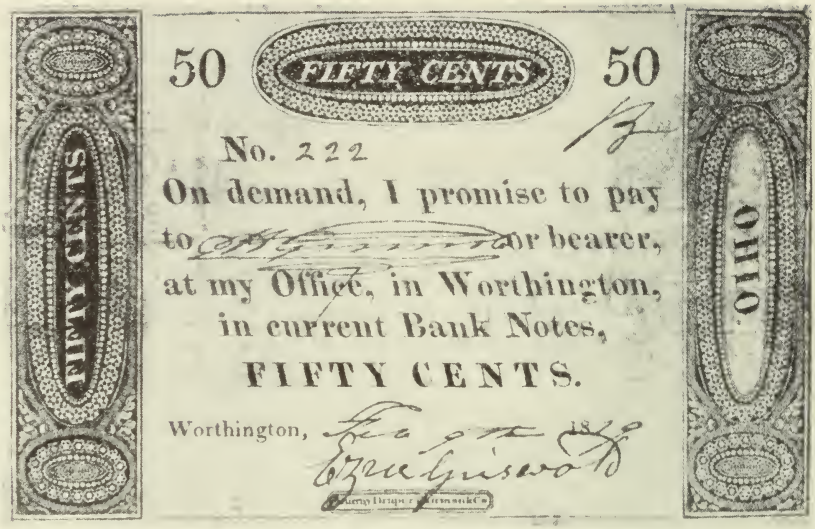
The "bonus law" was passed February 23, 1816, during the last legislative session to be held in the old Capitol at Chillicothe.[17] By the terms of the act the charters of existing banks were to be extended to 1843, if their directors were willing to accept the terms proposed by the law, and six new banks were authorized, each with

[15] Huntington, "History of Banking," 275.
[16] Ohio General Assembly, Senate, *Journal*, 14 Assemb., 1816, 73.
[17] Ohio Laws, *Acts*, 14 Assemb., 1816, 77.

a capitalization of $100,000. This capitalization might at any time be increased to as much as $500,000 by a two-thirds vote of the stockholders. Debts incurred should not exceed three times the amount of paid-up stock, nor should dividends be authorized otherwise than on the earnings of the bank; directors were personally liable if these rules were violated. It was specified that at least one-half of the purchase price of stock should be paid in specie, but there was no requirement as to the amount of specie which the banks should carry as liquid assets. One twenty-fifth of all stock issued should be set aside as the property of the State. Dividends on this stock should, from time to time, be used for the purchase of further shares until the State owned one-sixth of the capital stock, whereupon the dividends should be paid to the State treasurer. This arrangement, however, was subject to change by the General Assembly. In consideration of this gift of stock, the banks were to be exempt from taxation and their charters should run until January 1, 1843. The books of the banks were to be open to inspection by individuals appointed by the General Assembly, but no regular system of supervision seems to have been contemplated.

Six new banks, at Columbus, Lancaster, St. Clairsville, Cleveland, Mt. Pleasant, and West Union, were specifically organized by the act. The eight existing banks, with the exception of the Miami Exporting Company whose charter ran until 1843, were compelled to conform to the law if they desired to have their charters extended beyond 1818. Pressure was being applied to banks operating without charters, and six of these—at Lebanon, Cincinnati, Urbana, New Lisbon, Chillicothe, and Wooster—were regularly organized during the course of the summer. Eight more banks, some of which had been operating irregularly, were granted charters during the next two years. Three of these were granted charters which did not include the provisions of the Bonus Law. This brought the total of banks in which the State had an interest to twenty-five. After January, 1818, no additional banks were incorporated for a period of eleven years.[18]

[18] Huntington, "History of Banking," 276.



25. NEGOTIABLE PAPER
In possession of Ohio State Museum.

Unauthorized banking was encouraged when it appeared that bank-notes could be issued without the necessity of redeeming them in specie. Although many such banks were operated with honest intentions, the flood of dubious paper which they emitted threatened to undermine the whole credit structure and the State therefore attempted to outlaw unchartered banks. An act passed in 1815 imposed a heavy penalty on banks which issued paper without authority, but its application was delayed for three years against banks which had been in operation before January, 1815.[19] Some of these institutions were in good repute, among them John H. Piatt's Bank at Cincinnati and the Bank of Xenia. Two of the more notorious were the Owl Creek Bank of Mt. Vernon and the Alexandrian Society of Granville. The latter institution had been granted a charter in 1807 as a literary or library society.[20] When banking operations were commenced the bankers insisted, rather unconvincingly, that a clause in the charter had given the right.

[19] Ohio Laws, *Acts*, 13 Assemb., 1815, 152.
[20] *Ibid.*, 5 Assemb., 1807, 62.



26. OWL CREEK BANK PAPER
In possession of Ohio State Museum.

John Kilbourn, who was acquainted with the bankers, wrote in 1818 that while he respected them as private citizens he considered them as "knaves and swindlers" in their role as bankers.[21] The Owl Creek Association attracted wide-spread attention both because of its rather ludicrous name and because of the freedom with which it issued notes. The State entered suit against this institution in the court of common pleas in Ross County on the ground that it was issuing paper money without authority. An acquittal was obtained by the bank's attorneys through establishing a quibble on the word "money." The case attracted wide notice and Judge John Thompson, who rendered the decision, was much criticized.[22]

While a number of banks operated on the borderline of legality, there were a number of swindlers who victimized Ohioans with spurious bank-notes. An interesting case was reported in the Columbus *Gazette* of April 9, 1818. A group of citizens of Bloomingville in Huron County had been denied a bank charter but not before they had purchased a large supply of beautifully printed bank-notes. By some inadvertence this paper came into the hands of three scoundrels who signed fictitious names and managed to

[21] Huntington, "History of Banking," 294. See also the defense of the Granville bankers: *Liberty Hall,* Jan. 20, 1817; Zanesville *Express,* Mar. 16, 1815.

[22] *Supporter,* May 13, 1817; Cincinnati *Western Spy,* May 30, 1817; Warren (Ohio) *Western Reserve Chronicle,* June 5, 12, 1817.

palm off the notes in considerable quantities. They escaped arrest in Ohio and when last heard of were descending the Ohio River, leaving a trail of worthless bills behind them. This was also a rare interval for counterfeiters, for although the notes of the Ohio banks were often satisfactory as works of art, they were not difficult to copy. One Ohio editor remarked facetiously: "Since the business of making new banks has become so easy and so familiar, it is to be hoped that the dishonest practice of counterfeiting the notes of old banks will be entirely done away. . . ." [23]

The emission of huge sums of paper money caused the quotations on Ohio notes to break sharply in eastern commercial centers. The adverse balance of trade under which Ohio suffered had caused her bank paper to be discounted at from four to five per cent. even during the period of sound banking practise, but by January, 1817, the discounts for the paper of chartered banks ranged from twelve to fifteen per cent., while that of unchartered banks seldom brought more than three-fourths of its face value.[24] One must remember that these latter figures were in terms of eastern bank paper, not of specie. Within Ohio the most noticeable effect was in a general rise in the price level. The apparent value of land increased so rapidly that Ohio farmers imagined themselves on the way to wealth.

The groundwork was now completely laid for economic disaster. With little restriction on note issues and none with regard to specie reserves, more than twenty banks entered eagerly into the business of meeting an almost insatiable demand for credit. Immigrants who had come to Ohio in uncounted thousands could well make use of credit in establishing their new homes, and older inhabitants felt warranted in borrowing money in view of increasing land values. The increase in manufacturing, noted in a previous chapter, was both a cause and a result of the extension of bank credits; a number of banks were specifically connected with manufacturing enterprises. It was into this situation that two branches of the

[23] *Supporter*, Feb. 4, 1817.
[24] Huntington, "History of Banking," 281.

Second Bank of the United States were projected, not at the invitation or with the consent of the State government, but through the earnest solicitation of many prominent citizens of Cincinnati and Chillicothe, most of whom were already closely connected with local State banks. These two banks at the outset tended to accelerate the speed of inflation, then by a sudden reversal of policy they precipitated the catastrophe.

From the outset these branches seem to have been regarded simply as banks rather than as instruments of the National Government. The difficulties which grew out of their policies were consequently thought of as economic rather than as constitutional problems. When the books of the Bank were opened for subscribers in the summer of 1816, the response in Ohio was enthusiastic. No less than seven hundred citizens of Cincinnati were said to have given pledges for stock, the total subscription being $470,000.[25] This does not mean that this sum was subscribed in cash, since personal notes were apparently accepted, as in the case of Worthington, who gave his note for $5,000 worth of shares.[26]

Before the location of the branches had been determined considerable rancor was shown by the partisans of various western cities. This was particularly bitter in Cincinnati when it was learned that Chillicothe was claiming the right to one of the branches. This movement in Chillicothe was sponsored by the directors of the Bank of Chillicothe, who chose a committee which included Worthington and General Duncan McArthur to present the city's claim to the directors of the United States Bank.[27] In October, Worthington, accompanied by others of the committee, journeyed to Philadelphia to present their arguments in person. In spite of Worthington's intimate acquaintance with William Jones, president of the Bank, these efforts were at first unsuccessful. The Cincinnati press scathingly condemned Worthington for this

[25] *Liberty Hall,* Aug. 19, 1816.

[26] William Jones to Thomas Worthington, Philadelphia, Mar. 1, 1818, Worthington MSS.

[27] Memorandum of John Evans enclosed in a letter from William Creighton, Jr., to *id.,* Chillicothe, Aug. 26, *ibid.*

lobbying expedition.[28] Criticism continued even after it became apparent that a branch would be established in Cincinnati, for it was known that Worthington was endeavoring to have a second branch authorized for Chillicothe. In this he was finally successful, largely because of his personal influence with Jones.[29] The Cincinnati branch was established in March, 1817, and that at Chillicothe the following October. The boards of directors of the two banks included some of Ohio's most eminent citizens. In Cincinnati Jacob Burnet, John H. Piatt, Martin Baum, Daniel Drake and William Henry Harrison were on the board, while in Chillicothe such men as Edward Tiffin, Duncan McArthur, George Renick, William Creighton, and John Carlisle lent prestige to the new bank.[30]

One of the principal functions of the Bank of the United States, much stressed at the time of its chartering, was the restoration of a sound currency, which meant that its policy must be to bring about the resumption of specie payment. In April, 1816, Congress passed a resolution, sponsored by Daniel Webster, to the effect that after February 20, 1817, only specie, U. S. Treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or notes of specie-paying banks, should be received for obligations due to the Government. Some months before this deadline Secretary of the Treasury Crawford appealed to bankers throughout the Nation to undertake specie payments on that date, but the responses he received were so unfavorable that he turned to the Bank of the United States as an instrument for compelling resumption. Western indebtedness to the Government was principally for lands purchased on credit. The receivers at the land-offices had been accepting the notes of local banks for the want of better currency and these funds had been deposited with specified banks throughout the West. Crawford asked the banks of deposit to attempt resumption but they protested, since they could not guarantee the soundness of neighboring banks. This

[28] *Western Spy*, Oct. 18, 1816.

[29] A series of letters from Jones to Worthington is among the Worthington MSS.

[30] A MS. journal containing minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors of the Chillicothe Branch is preserved in the archives of the Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe.

point of view is revealed in a letter to Crawford written by Simon Perkins, president of the Western Reserve Bank at Warren, dated January 8, 1817. Perkins stated with regret that the bank, surrounded as it was by non-specie-paying banks, was powerless in the matter of resumption:

"I pray you, sir, to be assured that it now is, and ever has been, the desire of the Directors of this bank to accomodate the Government in all its financial operations in this quarter of the country; and so long as we can receive for the United States the deposits made by the Collectors, and pay in such money as we do receive, we shall be pleased to be permitted to do it; but we cannot consent to receive of the Collectors the paper in general circulation in this section of the Union, (and such only do we receive,) and hold out the least encouragement of its being paid for in specie, until specie payments shall be generally resumed, when we hope to do business in such a manner as to completely satisfy the Government and all with whom we may have accounts. . . ." [31]

In view of its restrictive policies, the Bank of the United States commenced its operations in Ohio two years too late. The stabilization of the currency could have been achieved in the year following the war, but once the State had embarked on its program of bank expansion, this policy became difficult, if not impossible, and was both misunderstood and resented. Under any auspices, contraction would have been difficult, but it became doubly so when supervised by Jones, the well-intentioned but mediocre president of the Bank of the United States. Crawford had a clearer understanding of the problems of the western banks and was inclined to respect the intelligence and integrity of western financiers, but as a fixed policy he declined to interfere with the management of the Bank, either directly or through the Government appointees on the Board of Directors.[32] He had problems enough of his own, for the war debt had to be refunded and bonds issued for

[31] *American State Papers, Finance,* IV, 976.
[32] *Ibid.,* 539.

the Louisiana Purchase were coming due. He was greatly in need of liquid assets and hoped that the Bank could make available the large sums which western banks held for the credit of the Government. The whole situation might be discussed without reference to personalities, since fundamentally it involved the mechanism of exchange between the West and the East.

Paper money which, in the absence of other currency, had been accepted in the West in payment of direct taxes and land purchases, could not be used to create balances in eastern banks for the convenience of the Government. The unfavorable trade relationship placed a premium on eastern bank paper and specie. Huge Government expenditures in the West would have solved the problem, but these had ceased with the war, and the National Road had not as yet become a relieving factor. Ohio bank paper, consequently, had only a local usefulness. To require that debts due to the Government should be paid in eastern paper or specie would have placed an impossible burden on western banks, even if they had been well managed. Yet this requirement was now made and its enforcement was delegated to a Bank which was in control of men of limited vision. The remonstrances of western leaders were held to be selfish obstinacy; the failure of their banks to meet demands made on them was considered evidence of instability if not of dishonesty. Probably only one solution to the problem was possible to men such as Jones. Local currency which came into the hands of the cashiers of the branch banks could be loaned on adequate security. When borrowers failed to meet their loans, as was inevitable, the Bank would take possession of their homes, their business houses, or their real estate. Eastern capital, borrowed to settle balances due in the East, was thus brought to the West, under conditions ruinous to the borrowers. Possibly this was the only way out of the impasse, in any case it was the way that was followed.

The generalizations in the foregoing paragraphs might be substantiated by exhaustive references to the printed correspondence between Jones, Crawford, and the western bankers. Certain epi-

sodes may be taken as illustrating the relationships between the Bank, the Government, and the westerners. In September, 1816, a convention of the banks of western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, and eastern Ohio was held at Steubenville to determine the proper policy with regard to the resumption of specie payment. A committee of five was appointed with certain executive powers. Among the five were Bezaleel Wells of Steubenville, Simon Perkins of Warren, and Charles Hammond of St. Clairsville, who, aside from their banking interests, were among the ablest and most influential men in eastern Ohio. In March, 1817, they addressed a joint letter to the directors of the Bank of the United States, stating that resumption would not be safe unless some arrangement were made to delay the redemption of the large quantities of local bank paper which was held on deposit for the credit of the Government. They suggested that these funds should not be drawn upon until the following August, and then as gradually as circumstances would permit.[33] In reply the Bank directors offered two alternatives: the whole amount to be paid on August 1, with interest from April 1, or in seven equal installments starting with May 1, with interest from April 1. In either case the banks must jointly guarantee that the payments would be made. These propositions, which to the easterners may have seemed quite reasonable, show no appreciation of the difficulties which the westerners faced. The reply of the committee was written with resentment:

"Your letter of the 3d. instant has been received. It is not perceived that any advantage could result to the banks we represent by accepting either the first or second proposition it contains. Were it otherwise, the third proposition [that which required the joint guarantee] and the suggestion accompanying it are of such a character that self respect compels us to decline any further correspondence on the subject. We may, however, add that our banks will resume the payment of specie immediately. We shall then, no doubt, very soon have an opportunity of testing the professions of friendship which have been made for the country banks."

[33] *Ibid.*, 688.

Jones was angered by this reply and promptly enclosed the entire correspondence in a letter of self-justification to Crawford.[34] He remarked that up to this time "nothing indecorous or repulsive" had occurred in his relations with the western banks. Crawford shared Jones's point of view and dispatched a sharp reproof to the committee. He considered their refusal to accept the proposals made by the Bank as quite unreasonable. "As the western banks have been exclusively benefitted by the inactive state in which these funds have been so long placed, it was confidantly expected that measures would have been promptly adopted by them for enabling the Treasury to make use of them without further delay. . . ." He left no doubt as to the Government's policy.[35] Such funds as had been held in special deposit, that is in such notes as the banks of deposit had hesitated to accept as cash, should be turned over to the Bank of the United States, as they had been received. The Bank would then present the notes to the various banks which had issued them, requesting redemption in funds which could be used as cash by the Government. "As the operations of the Sinking Fund are now in progress, large sums will be required in the principal Atlantic cities, where the western paper will not answer the purposes of the Treasury. Such portion of the western deposits as it shall be necessary to transfer to the Atlantic cities must, therefore, be paid in specie or bills upon those cities, or by arrangements with the Bank of the United States. It is an object of no importance to the Treasury which of these modes is resorted to for effecting the transfer. It is only important that the transfer should be made so as to give the Treasury, without delay, the use of this money, which has so long been wholly useless to it."

The tone of condescension which the westerners detected in the letters of both Jones and Crawford was deeply resented. The venerable Wells, one of the founders of Steubenville, although known to be conservative, was universally respected for his good judgment. Hammond, Federalist editor of the war period, possessed one of

[34] *Ibid.*, 787.
[35] *Ibid.*, 523.

the most acute minds in Ohio, if not in the Nation.[36] His antagonism towards the Bank, which may well have begun with this first encounter, continued to grow. He was destined to state his reasons for this resentment in the presence of John Marshall and the Supreme Court.

In spite of numerous irritating incidents, the relationship between the Bank of the United States and the western financiers was fairly harmonious for more than a year and a half after it commenced operations. The Bank was in a position of immense power because of its capital and its almost complete control over the monetary system of the country. After the banks of Ohio nominally resumed specie payment during the summer of 1817, the Bank was not disposed to test their soundness. Interest charges were levied on balances of government deposits which the banks held, but the effects of constriction were alleviated by liberal loans made by the Bank to the State banks and to individuals. This liberal policy on the part of the Bank of the United States was due principally to the influence of the directors of the branches, but the management of the Bank at Philadelphia, itself, was for a time generous to the point of prodigality. Improbable as it may seem, the capitalization of the branches was not set definitely. An entry in the minutes of the directors of the Chillicothe Branch reflects a natural concern. The secretary was instructed to write a letter to the Philadelphia Bank "setting forth the state of this country, the principles of Banking which should operate in this country & requesting the apportionment of specific capital for the use of this office (or on refusal so to do, to request the reason why such capital will not be apportioned)." [37]

It was the desire both of William Jones and the Treasury Department to use the notes of the Bank of the United States as a medium of exchange which would be available and acceptable in all parts of the Nation. An early ruling of the Bank had declared that the paper of any branch would be accepted at other branches

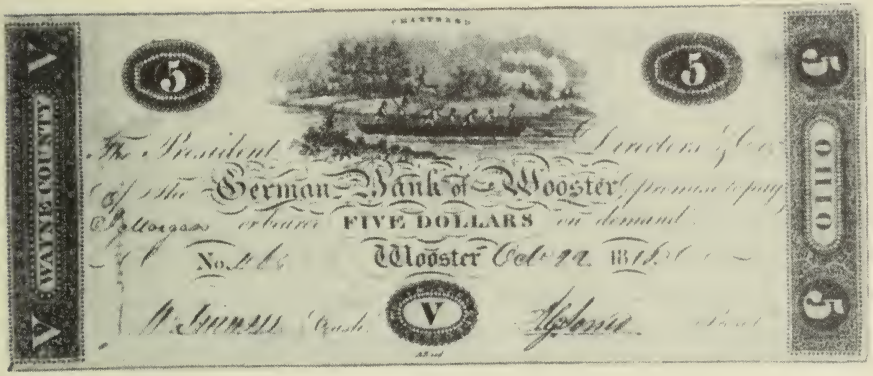
[36] For another interpretation, see Catterall, *Second Bank of the United States,* 27.
[37] Bank of the United States, Chillicothe Branch, Board of Directors, Journal, MS., Apr. 7, 1818.

throughout the country. Since enormous sums were needed for settling balances which westerners owed in the East, the paper of the Ohio branches was sent eastward as rapidly as it could be borrowed, and the capital of the Bank came West, to be tied up in mortgages and other types of securities. By June, 1818, the Cincinnati Branch had discounts totalling $1,836,620, while the branch at Chillicothe had discounted $565,054. In May, 1819, the capital tied up in Cincinnati amounted to $2,400,000, considerably more than that at any other branch in the country except Baltimore.[38] By adding the capital of the two Ohio branches, more than three million dollars of the assets of the Bank had come to Ohio in one way or another.

These prodigal loans merely postponed the evil day. By their means the Bank became deeply involved in the western inflationary movement. In the early summer of 1818, the directors of the Philadelphia Bank became aware of the dangerous situation which they were facing. Uppermost in their minds was the difficulty in maintaining a specie reserve to redeem their notes, as they were obligated to do by their charter. The constant export of gold to settle unfavorable balances in Europe, coupled with the constant trading in gold by private individuals, portended a real crisis.[39] Gold could be had only in Europe and then at such prices as could be afforded only in emergencies. The true situation of the Bank was only suspected outside the inner circle, but the sudden curtailment of discounts in July, 1818, indicated that all was not well. When, on July 20, 1818, the directors sent word to the Cincinnati banks that balances due the Bank of the United States must be settled at the rate of 20% per month, the bankers of that city were both amazed and indignant. So complete a reversal of policy was easily understood by those who were aware of the true condition of the Bank, but to Ohioans it was interpreted as a diabolical move on the part of the eastern capitalists to force the West into bankruptcy. To cover their own mismanagement the

[38] Catterall, *Second Bank of the United States,* 56.

[39] Jones to William H. Crawford, June 23, 1818, in *American State Papers, Finance,* IV, 853.



27. A BILL OF THE GERMAN BANK OF WOOSTER
In possession of Ohio State Museum.

directors of the Bank were not slow in laying blame on the extravagances of the westerners. The great depression was beginning; it would have occurred in spite of the United States Bank, but one becomes painfully aware of the total inadequacy of that institution to meet such a crisis. In the general collapse of credit the national banking system should have been sufficiently elastic to have afforded relief. The Bank of the United States was compelled to contract rather than expand its loans. In the end the Bank survived, partially because of the vigorous administration of Langdon Cheves, who succeeded William Jones, but it survived only because its debtors were driven into bankruptcy. The Bank was saved but the people were ruined.

Several weeks before the crisis was precipitated in Cincinnati in July, 1818, the Bank was experiencing unusual difficulty with the smaller Ohio banks. In June, for example, two officials of the Pittsburgh Branch made a tour of the banks of eastern Ohio asking them to redeem paper which had come into the possession of the Bank. They first visited the Farmers' Bank of Canton, where they were able to redeem only one-fourth of the $24,000 which they held in the currency of that bank. The German Bank of Wooster flatly refused to make any payment on a debt of $32,886, nor would they give any reason for non-payment. Even less satisfactory was

their adventure in Cleveland. The two officers presented $11,000 worth of paper to the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie for redemption. The cashier immediately began to count out silver, and ten thousand dollars was put in boxes for delivery. The agents went out of the bank to procure a wagon to haul the specie to Pittsburgh. They left the notes at the bank and upon returning they learned that a meeting of the directors had been hurriedly called and the action of the cashier had been countermanded. Not only did the directors refuse to make the specie payment, they even insisted on keeping the notes which the agents had presented, giving only a promissory note therefor. Kelley, president of the bank, according to one of the agents, then proceeded to give them a tongue-lashing: "I requested a reason for such extraordinary procedure; he then gave us as a reason that he knew perfectly well that the notes belonged to the Bank of the United States, and that he considered the Treasury and the Bank of the United States as the same thing; that the Bank of the United States had converted their offices into broker's shops, and that he considered it a duty that he owed to society to resist their encroachments; that he would publish to the world the reasons for his refusal to pay, and call on the other banks to act in the same manner, and form a coalition against the Bank of the United States. . . ." [40] At Warren, the cashier of the Western Reserve Bank redeemed all but $10,000 out of a sum of $50,000, and the agent reported that he thought it better to give that bank a short period in which to pay the balance than to press for full payment and run the risk of being refused. Such is the summary of a most unsatisfactory collecting expedition which doubtless was typical of many another.

The affairs of the Bank of the United States had reached an impasse: collecting specie in the West was like trying to get blood from a turnip; importing specie from abroad, although it was undertaken on a large scale, was so costly as to be disastrous, and yet the Treasury was apparently forced to treat every dollar on deposit with the Bank as so much cash. In this emergency the

[40] *Ibid.*, 856.

Bank turned to the Cincinnati banks, asking payment in five equal installments, as has been mentioned above. While this would have been justifiable practise in ordinary times, wiser men than William Jones could have foreseen that nothing but disaster could result from such precipitate action. When the demand for payment reached Cincinnati, the bankers immediately drew up a remonstrance, asking if this were the "settled policy" of the Bank.[41] If it were then it could be viewed only as "the commencement of that scene of ruin and distress to the community which the enemies of the institution have so often predicted." In a lengthy statement they showed the difficulties under which the western banks were operating. The banks of Cincinnati were able and willing to meet all ordinary demands made upon them "but they are not prepared to redeem at a few month's notice all the paper they have issued for years past; nor are they prepared to inflict unexampled distress upon the community to discharge a debt created, as this has been, by the transfer of Government deposits made in every species of paper. . . ." They pointed out that in the course of the year and a half during which the Bank of the United States had been operating in Ohio, the sum of $1,431,000 had been paid into the Cincinnati office by the banks of that city. The Bank was now asking not only for prompt payment, but had specified that only specie, United States notes, or notes on eastern banks would be received. The committee remarked that "neither of these can be had" and proposed that the banks should continue to reduce the debt as fast as they could conveniently, and that they should be permitted to pay at any one of the branches, since eastern paper was more available at the Kentucky offices. While the reply betrayed the bankers' irritation, their reasoning was sound since the remonstrance was the work of the ablest financiers in Cincinnati. The fact that the losses incurred by the Bank in the liquidation of its investments in Cincinnati through forced sales were surprisingly low, is abundant evidence that the local bankers were justified in asking for reasonable time to meet their indebtedness.

[41] *Ibid.*, 859.

The reply of the Bank, through Jones, not only refused to grant more favorable terms; it dismissed the elaborate defense of the bankers as mere casuistry. "He must be a sturdy debtor indeed, who boldly withholds both principal and interest, and defends it as a matter of right." Since the banks had seen fit to refuse the "reasonable" offer of the Bank, the cashier of the branch at Cincinnati was instructed to refuse to accept the paper of the offending banks.[42] On receipt of this communication the Cincinnati banks immediately suspended specie payment, and virtually ceased all operations except the collection of their debts. The leading paper of the city printed the following comment:

"On Thursday last, the banks of this Town came to the resolution to suspend the payment of specie. This policy was forced upon them by the hostile attitude assumed by the bank of the United States. The Cashier of the Office here received orders last week, to require immediate payment, in specie or United States' notes, of the whole amount due from these banks to that institution, and not to receive in future in deposite [*sic*] or in payment any other species of funds. This regulation extends to the payments to be made for lands in the Receiver's office, which it seems is thus far under the control of this institution.

"The directors at Philadelphia pretend to predicate this high handed measure upon the temper and spirit of a remonstrance from the banks of this town against a requisition made in the month of August, in which they proposed an arrangement to discharge their debt without draining the country of the precious metals. But it seems the directors of the town banks had a lesson of humility to learn before they approached the august presence of their High Mightinesses; and because they did not uncover their heads and humbly pray for relief, the whole country is to be visited with a signal vengeance. This is the most pitiful pretext for distressing a whole community that ever was invented by arbitrary power." [43]

[42] *Ibid.*, 862.
[43] *Liberty Hall,* Nov. 10, 1818.

It would be easy to assume that the period of economic distress which the State suffered during the years 1819 to 1825 was due to the banking mania, but the evidence for such an assumption is far from conclusive. The first shock of the depression destroyed the banks which might legitimately be called "paper mills"; those which survived were solid at the core and many which closed continued to redeem their paper. A committee of the General Assembly which met in December, 1819, made a careful survey of the twenty-five chartered banks within the State, attempting to draw up a balance sheet.[44] Statistics from five of these banks were incomplete, but the summary furnished by the committee was as accurate as possible. The total capitalization of the banks was given as $2,350,000, and the amount of notes in circulation was estimated at $1,336,000, but since the banks held each other's notes to the sum of $123,000, the latter figure might be reduced to $1,213,000. For the redemption of these notes the banks held $460,000 in specie, or approximately one dollar for every three of notes emitted. The committee considered that this ratio compared favorably with the Bank of the United States. Among the liabilities of these banks were sums due to the Bank of the United States. According to a report issued at Philadelphia on November 11, 1818, thirteen Ohio banks were listed as owing a total of $1,012,309. Of this amount $871,881, or all but $140,428, was owed by four banks: the Bank of Chillicothe, the Miami Exporting Company, the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Cincinnati, and the Bank of Cincinnati.[45] While the assets of these banks were not easily recoverable, particularly in a period of depression, there is no reason to believe that their investments were unwisely made. The bankers were gambling on the future greatness of Ohio, which can scarcely be described as unwise. These generalizations do not apply to a dozen or more ill-conceived "banks" whose notes had become wrapping paper by 1820. These "dirty little banks," as Crawford once called them,

[44] Ohio General Assembly, House, *Journal*, 18 Assemb., 1820, 415; Huntington, "History of Banking," 303.

[45] *American State Papers, Finance*, IV, 971.

naturally injured the reputation of the sounder Ohio banks.[46] It was not against these little banks that the wrath of the Bank of the United States was directed in the fall of 1818, but rather against the largest and possibly the best managed banking firms within the State.

The sad financial plight in which Ohioans found themselves in 1819 was in a large measure the cumulative effect of the credit system whereby public lands had been purchased. Over twenty million dollars was owed by public land debtors in 1820 and of this sum almost half was for sales northwest of the Ohio River. For more than a decade Ohio's Congressman Jeremiah Morrow had remonstrated against this system, arguing that the interests of both the people and the Government would be better served by selling for cash, at a lower price, and in smaller acreages.[47] The soundness of his judgment was amply shown when disaster overtook the West in 1819, and in 1820 the Land Act embodying his ideas was passed. If this act had been passed five years earlier the inflationary spirit in the West might have been curbed. The credit system had lent encouragement to speculation and to the growth of a false standard of land values. Inflated land values were both a cause and a result of the large issues of Ohio bank currency. Certainly the indebtedness of the Ohio banks to the Bank of the United States resulted largely from loans of their currency to land debtors, either for increased purchases or for back payments.

Probably half the men living in Ohio were indebted to the Government for land purchases, and the fortunes of the other half were closely bound to theirs. The catastrophe of 1819 rested most heavily on these land debtors, and many an industrious farmer who had paid from one to three installments on his land was threatened with complete bankruptcy, since there was little demand for farms at any price, nor was there any immediate prospect that conditions would improve. There was one simple way in which the indebtedness could be liquidated without compelling the

[46] Philemon Beecher to Worthington, Washington, Dec. 3, 1817, Worthington MSS.
[47] P. J. Treat, *National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, 1910), 139.

farmer to sacrifice his equity. This scheme was widely attributed to Burnet, although one may assume that the idea had occurred to many others throughout the West.[48] Congress was asked to pass an act which would permit such installments as had been paid on a tract of land to apply on the outright purchase of a portion of the tract. The farmer would thereby be freed from debt and yet would be able to save his home and other improvements. The bill, reported by the Senate Committee on Public Lands in December, 1820, had the support of virtually all western congressmen. In brief it provided that the purchaser could retain such lands as his payments would purchase, or if he could continue his payments, he would not be charged with accrued interest, and a liberal discount would be given for prompt settlement.[49] By this act the principal danger to the West was averted.

The full force of the depression was not felt in Ohio until a year or more after the collapse of the banks in the fall of 1818, and old settlers remembered most distinctly the hard times of the early 1820's. The story of those years, if told in full, would deal with the collapse of land values and the stagnation of all export trade, with proud commercial houses which passed into strange hands and land speculators, wealthy in 1815, being sent to prison for debt, and so on endlessly. In communities which were so largely self-sufficient as the Ohio towns of that day, there could have been little actual suffering, and if the economic strain became unbearable, there was always the road to the West. Illinois and Missouri were sufficiently attractive to cause the bankrupt Ohioan to load his belongings into the farm-wagon and set out to realize a new dream. At a meeting held on Thanksgiving Day in 1818 in Cincinnati, a speaker surveyed the dismal prospect and found only one ray of hope: he proposed a toast to "the new State of Illinois."[50] In William Faux's Journal, written in 1819, one may read that "Waggons are arriving daily [in Cincinnati] with goods and emigrants for the river, down which, when the waters rise, they are to

[48] Burnet, *Notes*, 453.
[49] Treat, *National Land System*, 148.
[50] *Western Spy*, Dec. 5, 1818.

float in flat boats called arks, two and two of many creeping things, occasionally anchoring on the banks and surveying the promised land." [51]

The collapse of the farmer's market was almost complete, for prices were so low that freighting costs could not be paid. Thomas Worthington, writing in 1824, stated that "wheat has varied in price for some years back from 25 to 50c. The average price has not for 5 or 6 years back exceeded 37½c." [52] A Cincinnati mill in July, 1821, offered to buy wheat at 31 cents a bushel.[53] William Renick, of the famous Ross County stock-raising family, recalled that he bought 40 acres of corn in the field at six and one-quarter cents a bushel.[54] Good "driving hogs" could be bought at two cents a pound, while fat cattle could be had for three cents a pound during the low point of the depression. In 1817 Felix Renick had sold a choice lot of fat cattle on the Philadelphia market at an average of $134.00 a head; four years later William Renick bought cattle weighing as much as 1,400 pounds at a trifle over eight dollars apiece. Farm hands could be had for as little as five dollars a month and board, but few were hired even at that price. Joseph Kerr, for a time one of the most aggressive speculators in the Scioto Valley, was confined in the Chillicothe jail because he could not pay a judgment of $54,000 which the Bank of Chillicothe had obtained against him. His case attracted wide attention because he had already been elected to the General Assembly, where he had frequently served before.[55] Even Worthington, foremost citizen of the State, was badly involved in debt, partially through the speculations of a son-in-law, and eventually was compelled to sacrifice farm-lands which he had held for more than a quarter of a century.[56]

A country philosopher, who signed himself "A Ross County

[51] William Faux, *Memorable Days in America . . .* , in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), XII, 171.
[52] *Supporter,* Sept. 16, 1824.
[53] *Liberty Hall,* July 28, 1821.
[54] William Renick, *Memoirs, Correspondence and Reminiscences* (Circleville, 1880), 79.
[55] *Supporter,* July 8, 1818.
[56] Creighton to Worthington, Chillicothe, Feb. 8, 1826, Worthington MSS.

Farmer," contributed an article on hard times to one of the Chillicothe papers in a style so simple and straightforward that it can hardly be surpassed as a description of the farmer's economic situation in the early 1820's:

"Brother Farmers:—I take the liberty of saying a few things to you about the hard times. Now-a-days when we meet one another we have nothing to say but to repeat the old complaint of hard times. When we have got through the fatiguing labors of the day, and sit down with our wives and children about us in the evening, instead of calculating our gains and cheering our boys and girls by promising Bill and Bob a hat, and Molly and Katey a new dress after harvest and sale of our crops, we have only to amuse ourselves and them with the story of hard times. If we go to town, although we are invited to try a little corn as usual, and meet with the same feeling enquiries from our friends, the store keepers, as formerly, about our 'concerns at home;' before we leave their store we are sure to be winked aside and called on for 'a small balance of some time standing which ought to be paid.'

"Well, it is true the times are hard enough. Two or three years ago we could get a dollar a bushel for our wheat, and for our pork and beef four or five dollars per hundred. Then our farms were worth something, and we could always, by some means or other, raise a little money to meet 'a balance of some time standing which ought to be paid.' Now we can get little or nothing for our wheat, our pork and our cattle. And as for our farms, we could hardly give them away. In fact, it is so difficult to get money that all 'balances,' whether for or against us, bid fair to remain 'outstanding' for a long time yet to come. . . .

"The truth is, we farmers have been and still are in the way of buying too much coffee, too much tea, too much foreign cloth, too much foreign finery at the stores—and drinking too much corn both at home and when we are from home. There are a great many farmers as well as others in our country who are becoming, as one might say, habitual drunkards, and who are in a fair way of destroying themselves, wasting their property, and leaving their

families as poor and naked as when they came into the world." [57]

When this rural commentator complained that farms could scarcely be given away he was not exaggerating. A large farm near Circleville which had sold for thirty dollars an acre in 1815 was sold again in 1824 at nine dollars. In the Pickaway Plains, possibly the most productive area in the State, farms were sold by the sheriffs for as little as ten dollars an acre, while the neighboring bottom-lands brought from four to seven dollars.[58] Scores of pages in contemporary newspapers might be cited advertising lands for sale either for the satisfaction of judgments or for delinquent taxes.[59] Unimproved lands could frequently be had for little more than the delinquent taxes, providing the purchaser were willing to assume the payments due the Government. Under these circumstances the sales of public lands showed a marked decline. Thousands of acres in the vicinity of Columbus and Delaware were offered at from three to five dollars an acre. Property in the towns and villages suffered a similar deflation. A house in Marietta reported to have been built at a cost of $16,000 was sold for one-tenth of that amount, and lots in the same town, which only a few years before had been valued at several hundred dollars, could be bought for thirty or forty dollars.[60] One may readily imagine the emotions of the former owners when they saw well-improved farms or city property pass into the ownership of the banks at prices so low that no equity was left. Such owners must have recalled vividly the day when the fatal mortgage was drawn up, how the cashier loaned at par the paper money of Ohio banks which even at the time was at a discount. Loaning depreciated paper at its face value and charging six per cent. for the favor was usurious in its effect, yet no one pressed the point.[61] One could only curse the banks in general or some banker in particular, and try to find solace of a sort in home-made "corn."

[57] *Supporter,* July 5, 1820.
[58] Renick, *Memoirs,* 79.
[59] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* May-June, 1823, *passim; Liberty Hall,* Aug. 4, 1821; Hamilton (Ohio) *Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1820.
[60] Lisbon *Ohio Patriot,* Jan. 29, 1820.
[61] Burnet, *Notes,* 410.

The path of recovery was long and tedious but it came to an end at last. The return of prosperity was, of course, connected with the coming of better times thoughout the Nation. One is unable to fix a precise date for this recovery, since there were reasons for optimism as early as 1823, when prices took an upward turn and the New Orleans trade again became profitable,[62] yet the year 1825, all things considered, is the more appropriate date, for it marked the completion of the Erie Canal, which ended the isolation of northern Ohio and brought the New York market within reach of Ohio farmers. That year also witnessed the commencement of the Ohio canal system and the first construction on the National Road within the State, both of which were factors of prime importance in ending Ohio's economic helplessness. Ohio's producers saw hope of shipping their wheat, pork, beef and other articles to a market which in turn could supply western consumers with goods for which there was a great natural demand. With the introduction of cheaper transportation the unfavorable balance of trade, which had cursed the State from its infancy, could be redressed.

This chapter has dealt at length with Ohio's monetary problems without regard to their political accompaniment. While the difficulties of the period were basically economic the political repercussions were at times nothing short of sensational. The anger against the banks reached hysterical proportions, being climaxed in the well-known attack on the Bank of the United States. Some Ohioans went so far as to question the value of being united to a National Government which would expose its citizens to the enormous injustices perpetrated by the Bank of the United States. No South Carolinian in a later decade could have breathed a hotter flame than did some contributors to Ohio newspapers at the height of the controversy. These matters, together with others associated with the politics of the so-called "era of good feeling" will be treated in the chapter which follows.

[62] *Liberty Hall,* Jan. 21, 1823.

CHAPTER XI

The Course of Politics, 1816-1825

THE period 1816–1825, which historians with some misgivings have labeled "the era of good feeling," cannot be so described in the annals of Ohio politics. The causes for discord, in contrast with earlier political struggles, did not arise principally from issues localized within Ohio, but rather from questions which concerned the whole Nation. There was, in the first place, the acrimonious debate over the status of the Bank of the United States, which to Ohio statesmen seemed to involve economic rather than constitutional questions. In their opposition to the Bank, Ohio politicians were almost of one mind. This issue was barely laid to rest when the preliminaries of the election of 1824 brought to the foreground such questions as internal improvements and the tariff, as well as the qualifications of the various "favorite sons." By the end of the period Ohio was fourth in population among the states of the Union; she had been the leading western state for some time. Her spokesmen were no longer inclined to the subservience which had characterized them in the earlier decades of statehood. This growing sense of power was displayed both in the contest with the Bank and in the national elections. The course of Ohio's internal politics ran smoothly during these years, and much important legislation was passed with comparative unanimity. Sectional interests came in conflict, however, when the routes for the projected canal system were being debated.

It was shown in earlier chapters that the Federalist minority in Ohio frequently had considerable influence because of the schism within Republican ranks. This schism did not outlast the War of 1812, and the "successful" termination of that conflict tended to weaken the Federalists, who for a time had found many

who agreed with them in their condemnation of the war and the Administration. The editors of the St. Clairsville *Ohio Federalist* and the Zanesville *Express,* who had spoken for the Federalists during the war years, were apparently willing, as the election of 1816 approached, to admit that the party of Washington and Hamilton was dead. "We fully concur with the Editor of the Ohio Federalist," wrote the editor of the Zanesville paper, "in his views relative to the approaching election. We think it high time for the Federalists to give up an opposition which only serves to heighten the asperities of party spirit, and exhibit the thinness of their ranks." If the Republicans would nominate "honorable and capable men," promised the editor, they would meet with no opposition from the Federalists. After commenting on the trend of national politics, he remarked that the "adoption of good old Washingtonian principles" by the Republicans deprived the Federalists of their reason for existence.[1] These phrases compose a graceful obituary of the Federalist Party within Ohio.

It is a curious fact that Charles Hammond, editor of the *Ohio Federalist,* and so staunch a partisan that he never forgave the apostasy of John Quincy Adams, should have been in the forefront of Ohio's attack upon the Bank of the United States. Hammond was connected with a State bank in St. Clairesville, which might be alleged as the basis for his prejudice, but it is as reasonable to assume that his sense of justice was outraged as he witnessed the havoc wrought by the change in the policy of the Bank from unwarranted leniency to unexplained contraction. The background for this statement is laid in the previous chapter; the present task is to deal with the political accompaniment to the tragedy of Ohio's young financial system.[2]

When the taxation of the branches of the Bank of the United States was first broached, it was interpreted simply as a revenue

[1] Zanesville (Ohio) *Express,* Aug. 15, 1816.

[2] A discriminating study of the period is E. L. Bogart, "Taxation of the Second Bank of the United States by Ohio," *American Historical Review* (New York), XVII (1911-12), 312-31. Charles Warren, *Supreme Court in United States History* (Boston, 1928), I, 526-38, uses the same sources and reaches a different conclusion.



28. THIRD STATE CAPITOL, COLUMBUS
From W. T. Martin, *History of Franklin County, Ohio* (Columbus, 1858), frontispiece.

measure. The State banks were paying a tax of four per cent. on earnings as early as 1815, and the Bonus Law of the following year was a substitute for this direct levy. The Cincinnati and Chillicothe branches had been established in the spring and fall of 1817 "without any enquiry whether such a measure would, or would not meet with the approbation of the constituted authorities of the State," although certain Ohio statutes might have been invoked against them. When the General Assembly convened at Columbus in December, 1817, Thomas McMillan, a conservative representative from Wayne County, moved the appointment of a joint committee to consider the propriety and expediency of taxing branches of the Bank. The committee reported against the propriety of levying such a tax, on the ground that such a measure would "impair the obligation" of the Bank's charter. The House, upon a motion made by Hammond, reversed the committee's finding by a vote of 37 to 22.[3] At this juncture, General Duncan McArthur, speaker of the House and Representative from Ross, rode

[3] Duncan McArthur to his wife, Columbus, Jan. 2, 1818, McArthur MSS., XXVIII, no. 5533.

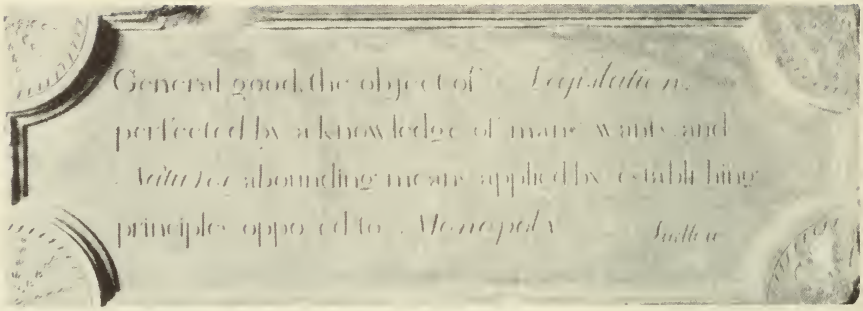
post-haste to Chillicothe to confer with his fellow directors of the branch bank. There is evidence that an effective lobby was set up by the Bank at the capital. Several officers from both branches were in Columbus, at any rate, and hand bills were circulated which discussed the question from the point of view of the Bank.[4] McArthur spoke vehemently against the measure, belaboring Hammond and other supporters of the bill in such terms that Hammond asked his fellow assemblymen if they would submit to such dragooning. Under Hammond's leadership a motion was passed (38: 22) declaring the proposed tax to be constitutional, but since a larger minority questioned the expediency of taxing, it was voted to postpone action until the meeting of the next General Assembly in December, 1818.[5] In the meantime a committee was to make inquiries concerning the effect which the branches were having on the financial situation within the State. This committee made a serious effort to analyze the banking situation, but inquiries addressed to officers of the branches were not answered.[6]

It will be recalled that during the summer of 1818 the Bank of the United States began to suffer from the folly of its own mismanagement. In July the Cincinnati banks were suddenly notified that they must pay their indebtedness to the Bank of the United States at the rate of twenty per cent. per month. This action, described by Cincinnati bankers as a "grievance unprecedented," was the immediate cause of Ohio's financial disaster. It was but natural, therefore, that the General Assembly which convened in December, 1818, was unable to consider the bill for taxing the branches with the dispassion displayed in the previous assembly. In the interval between the two sessions the question had been thoroughly aired in Ohio's leading newspapers, with remarkably little animus, although the editorials and contributions became more spirited after the Bank commenced its policy of contraction. The Chillicothe *Supporter* was probably the most moderate in its viewpoint,

[4] Steubenville (Ohio) *Western Herald and . . . Gazette,* Sept. 19, 1818; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Sept. 2, 9, 1818; Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* Sept. 10, 1818.

[5] Ohio General Assembly, House, *Journal,* 16 Assemb., 1817-18, 90, 360.

[6] *Ibid.,* 18 Assemb., 1819-20, 407.



29. WILLIAM LUDLOW'S MOTTO
Set above the door of the first capitol building in Columbus. The original stone is now in possession of Ohio State Museum.

although its columns were open to those who condemned the Bank. One writer, who signed himself "Gracchus," expressed a lawyer's point of view. He questioned the right of the State to tax an instrument of the Federal Government. The whole issue hinged, in his opinion, on the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, a matter which was as yet undetermined.[7] At the opposite extreme from this analysis, were the views expressed by James Wilson, grandfather of Woodrow Wilson, in the columns of the *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*. In good Jeffersonian fashion he questioned the right of the National Government to create such an engine of oppression. Concerning the right of the State to tax the branch banks, he had not the slightest doubt, although he thought that the assembly had acted wisely in postponing the action.[8] It is well to keep in mind that the program for taxing the Bank had not been introduced originally as a punitive measure, although it rapidly assumed that aspect in the course of the fall campaign of 1818. Wilson rejoiced in the outcome of the October elections, for almost every winning candidate was known to be in favor of the tax measure.

A new governor, Ethan Allen Brown, one of Ohio's ablest executives, took office after the meeting of the assembly in 1818. In his

[7] *Supporter,* Feb. 25, 1818.
[8] *Western Herald,* Sept. 19, 1818.

first message he alluded to the bank crisis, and plainly indicated that he was in accord with the majority of the legislators in his attitude towards the branches. "While the state banks are subjected to the imposition of taxes, or their equivalent, there appears no evident reason why those branches should be exempt. Their exemption would be a partiality, unjust to the local banks." [9] Not only was the governor, who incidentally had studied law in the offices of Alexander Hamilton, in agreement with the legislators, at least five other states had passed measures for taxing the Bank. Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, had levied taxes ranging from five to sixty thousand dollars on branches within those states.

Charles Hammond took the lead in formulating the tax measure, which was skillfully drawn. While the law was directed against all banks operating in Ohio without authority from the State government, certain clauses were aimed at the branch banks specifically. If the branches continued their business within the State after September 1, 1819, a tax of $50,000 was to be collected from each branch annually on September 15. In case of default, the agent of the State was authorized to levy on the goods and the credit of the Bank, to search the vaults, cupboards, and closets of the banking offices until a sum had been obtained to satisfy the tax. The bill became law February 8, 1819, having passed the House with only three dissenting votes.[10] It was abundantly clear that the legislators were determined to drive the branches from the State, an attitude which was the direct outgrowth of the policy of the Bank to save itself, even if the banks of Ohio were ruined.

The Bank was given seven months in which to conclude its operations before the tax became operative. It seems plausible that it was both the belief and desire of the legislators that the Bank would withdraw from the State without a contest. The decision in the case of *McCulloch* v. *Maryland* rendered March 7, 1819, which declared the Bank to be constitutional and denied the power of

[9] Ohio, *House Journal,* 17 Assemb., 1818-19, 92.
[10] *Ibid.,* 409; Cincinnati *Western Spy,* Jan. 30, 1819.

the states to tax it, put an entirely new face on the question. James Wilson was the first and most violent critic of John Marshall's decision. His editorial comment was headed by the following phrases in bold type: "THE UNITED STATES BANK, EVERYTHING! THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES, NOTHING!!" In his bitter style he wrote that the State might as well return to its territorial grade if it were denied the right to protect its people against a Bank which had obviously been badly if not corruptly managed.[11]

The text of Marshall's opinion was printed in all the leading papers of the State, the editors, other than Wilson, being fairly moderate in their initial comments.[12] The editor of Cincinnati *Liberty Hall* wrote mildly: "We must confess this decision has been different from what we had apprehended; but we have no disposition to quarrel with the legitimate expounders of the Constitution, and laws of the Union. The judiciary is the only proper tribunal to try this question, and they have settled it." Two weeks later the same editor wrote: "It is apparent that great dissatisfaction prevails respecting this decision and we should not be surprised if the court should be called upon to revise it by the perserverance of some of the states in asserting their claim to the right of taxation." [13] For a time there was a general rumor that the governor was preparing to call an extra session of the General Assembly to handle the crisis. Wilson hoped that Ohio would take the lead in appealing to other states to cooperate "in such measures as would tend to guard the liberties of the people from prostration; and to secure the union of the states, as well as to prevent their consolidation under a *head* which knows no written constitution but attempts to derive its powers from *implication,* and *precedent* and *prerogative.*" [14]

One of the directors of the branch at Chillicothe, whose feelings

[11] *Western Herald,* Mar. 20, 1819.

[12] Hamilton (Ohio) *Miami Herald,* May 11, 1819; Lisbon *Ohio Patriot,* Mar. 27, 1819; *Western Spy,* Apr. 3, 1819.

[13] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Gazette,* Apr. 2, 13, 1819.

[14] *Western Herald,* May 1, 1819.

had evidently been ruffled during the debate over the tax measure, sent Hammond the text of the decision, with the query, "What will become of our Great Bank Law?" [15] Hammond stood firm:

"I have never yet seen or heard an argument advanced in support of the principles of the decision, that appeared to me worthy of refutation. If, however, the country must be prostrated at the feet of an overbearring stock-jobbing aristocracy, I most earnestly wish that all may be satisfied that the outrage is warranted by the Constitution. Should the reasoning of the Court fail in giving this general satisfaction, I hope the freemen of Ohio feel enough of the spirit of independence to afford the Judges an opportunity of reviewing their opinion. It is time enough to succumb when the Western States have been heard, and when their rights have been decided upon in a case where they are themselves parties." [16]

It was evident that Ohioans were not inclined to accept the McCulloch decision as binding upon them. Lawyers pointed out that the parties to the eastern case had agreed on certain premises which Ohioans were not inclined to accept.[17] Public opinion was united in upholding State officials in their intention of collecting the tax. As the panic struck the State with paralyzing force in the spring and summer months, both the Bank and the Supreme Court were condemned in exaggerated terms. A writer in *Liberty Hall,* who signed himself "Dion," reached the extremities of animosity. He quoted a writer in a London quarterly who prophesied the division of the United States at the Alleghenies. This subject, "however delicate to handle," wrote "Dion," "must sometimes be publicly discussed. . . ." He complained that, although the Federal Constitution had provided for a system of accommodation, western interests had never been truly recognized, that the West paid more into the Federal Treasury than it received in benefits, and so on, using phrases which, fortunately, were not typical of most of the commentators.[18]

[15] *Supporter,* Mar. 31, 1819.
[16] *Liberty Hall,* Apr. 6, 1819.
[17] *Western Herald,* Oct. 16, 1819.
[18] *Supporter,* June 2, 1819.

The McCulloch decision had been rendered in March, 1819. Ohio's act for taxing the Bank, passed a month earlier, was to be executed in September, and in the meantime the General Assembly would not be in session unless called by the governor. After a period of hesitation, the governor decided not to call an extra session. He did not suffer from lack of advice, however, for the leading citizens of the State expressed their views on the crisis, in one way or another. The majority of them contended that the State should proceed with the collection. Benjamin Tappan, the colorful judge of the Steubenville neighborhood, was of the opinion that Ohio should take the lead in proposing an amendment to the Constitution which would specifically deny the right of the Federal Government to grant charters for banking purposes. "The decision of the U. S. Court is alarming," he wrote to Brown, "it discovers the strength and ferocity of a Polyphemus in what had been [described] as a very gentle cupid, that the principles established by it go to the utter extinction of the [state] governments I think cannot for a moment be doubted. The decision ought to be met by the states with firm resistance. . . ." [19]

As the date for the collection of the tax approached, Ralph Osborn, who as State auditor was responsible for its enforcement, appealed to Brown for a way out of his quandary. With the sanction of the governor, he decided to enforce the law. On September 11, he was served with a notice that the Bank had made application for an injunction to prevent the collection of the tax. On the morning of September 15, the day that the act became effective, he was served with a copy of a petition in chancery, which requested that the court enjoin Osborn from attempting the collection, and also with a subpoena from the Federal Court to appear before it in answer to the petition some three months later. After consulting with several lawyers, Osborn decided that none of the papers constituted an actual injunction.[20] He therefore issued a warrant for the collection of the tax.

[19] Benjamin Tappan to E. A. Brown, Steubenville, July 7, 1821, Brown MSS.
[20] Ohio Auditor, Report, in Ohio, *House Journal,* 18 Assemb. 1819-20, 38.

Osborn's action, at this juncture, has been much condemned by American historians, on the assumption that he defied a court order. John Bach McMaster treats Ohio's policy after the McCulloch decision as one of open defiance. James Schouler states that the tax was levied in spite of the mandate of the Supreme Court, and condemns Ohio's action as "senseless warfare." W. G. Sumner, in his *History of Banking in the United States,* asserts that Osborn deliberately disregarded an injunction. Charles Warren states that the Bank obtained a temporary injunction which Osborn disregarded on the ground that it was imperfect.[21] The crux of the question is this: Did Osborn actually violate a court order, or did he consider that he was taking a course which would enable Ohio to test her cause before the Supreme Court? Ernest L. Bogart, who studied the question with great thoroughness, is of the opinion that Osborn was not served with an injunction until the day after the tax had been collected. In the broader aspects of the dispute he is of the opinion that "the people of Ohio had a very good case against the Bank, that they were convinced of the justice of their position, and that they proceeded to test their rights in constitutional, legal, and peaceful ways."[22] This much may be said with assurance: aside from a few individuals directly connected with the Bank, there were no prominent Ohioans who questioned the justice of Ohio's position. Any student of Ohio's history will realize that a cause which Bezaleel Wells, Charles Hammond, James Wilson, Benjamin Tappan, and Governor E. A. Brown united in defending could not have been without merit.

Shortly after noon on September 17, 1819, three men entered the office of the branch of the Bank of the United States at Chillicothe. William Creighton, Jr., president of the board of directors, Abram Claypool, the cashier, and a clerk, who were in the bank, realized that something unusual was afoot. Two of the strangers "in a

[21] J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States . . .* (New York 1883-1913), IV, 498; James Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution* (New York, 1894-1913), III, 246; W. G. Sumner cited in Bogart, "Taxation of the Second Bank of the United States," 324n.

[22] *Ibid.,* 323n.

ruffian-like manner" jumped over the counter and took possession of the vault, in spite of Claypool's effort to block their path. At this point the leader of the three "ruffians," whose name was John L. Harper, gave the first word of explanation. He asked Claypool if he were prepared to pay the hundred thousand dollars due to the State as the annual tax on the two branches. On being asked for his authority, he showed a warrant signed by the State auditor. Creighton attempted to argue with the men, referring to the decision of the Supreme Court and to the injunction which he claimed had been granted by the Circuit Court. Harper was not interested in the legal aspects of the matter. He and his associates entered the vault in spite of the cashier, who was still inclined to put up a fight. A crowd gathered shortly, but no attempt was made to hinder the work of the agents of the State. They gathered a quantity of bank-notes and specie which they estimated to be $100,000 and left the bank. Early the next day the three collectors, protected by a guard, drove out of town in a light wagon, bound for Columbus. Here the money was turned over to the State treasurer, who promptly returned an excess of some $20,000 to the Bank at Chillicothe. Harper was paid $2,000 for his "ruffian-like" work.

The letter of Claypool to Langdon Cheves, from which the above account is taken, does not conceal his sense of injured dignity.[23] An extract from a letter of Thomas Worthington, apparently written to Secretary William Harris Crawford, reveals the same reaction. He had been astonished to learn that the collection had been made in spite of the court's injunction:[24] "I immediately did all in my power to have the money restored, and offered to give a deed of trust on property worth $400,000 as security for the money; but, to my regret and great mortification, have been unable to succeed. I view the transaction in the most odius light, and from my very soul I detest it. The officers of the bank will no

[23] Abram Claypool to Langdon Cheves, Chillicothe, Sept. 25, 1819, in *American State Papers, Finance* (Washington, D. C., 1832-59), IV, 904.

[24] *Ibid.*, 905. Warren, incorrectly, attributes this letter to Brown, in his *Supreme Court*, I, 533.

doubt advise you fully on the subject. I am ashamed it has happened in Ohio."

The injunction which Creighton read to Harper and which Worthington mentions, had been issued only a day or two before the collection was made, and the paper was not served upon Osborn until the day after the trespass upon the bank at Chillicothe. By this narrow margin the act of collection escaped from being in direct defiance of a court order. Within a few days, Judge C. W. Byrd, judge of the Federal Court, issued an injunction which forbade the State authorities to make any disposition of the money which had been collected. Byrd's order was strengthened by the issuance of a similar document by Chief Justice John Marshall, two months later. Harper and one of his associates, meanwhile, had been imprisoned on a court action for the recovery of the money. They were freed after a lapse of three months, on the ground that the charge against them was irregular.

Contrary to the common interpretation of the events from this point onward, the contest seems to have been conducted with dignity. The purpose of the State officers was simply to make sure that Ohio's cause should be heard in the Supreme Court. Salmon P. Chase, who at the time was a young lawyer in Cincinnati, described the action in these words: "Throughout these proceedings the state and her officers manifested the utmost respect for the constitutional tribunals of the country. They believed, conscientiously, that the state possessed the right to tax the bank, and measures were taken for the exercise and enforcement of that right. But in no instance was any indignity offered to any judicial tribunal, nor was resistance, in any case opposed to judicial process. . . ." [25] Chase's account may have been colored because he was writing at the time of South Carolina's attempt at nullification, yet contemporary accounts tend to bear out his statements. The tax money was kept intact in compliance with the court order. In January, 1820, a suit of attachment against Osborn and Harper, based on their alleged contempt of the court's injunction, was argued in the Circuit Court.

[25] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Statutes of Ohio* (ed. by S. P. Chase), I, 43.

Decision was postponed until the following September. When the case finally came to trial the opposing counsel agreed that an order should be issued to the State treasurer that the total tax, plus interest on the specie, should be returned to the Bank. This the treasurer refused to do without a warrant, as the lawyers had anticipated. He was thereupon placed under nominal arrest by a Federal marshal and all his property, including his keys, was attached. The vault of the State Treasury was then entered and the sum of $98,000 was turned over to representatives of the Bank, in the presence of the court. The suit was continued, by agreement of both parties, on the $2,000 (Harper's fee) plus the interest charges. All this was done, apparently, withous fuss or fanfare, yet the whole procedure was given a lurid interpretation by newspaper editors, both in Ohio and the East. The suit of the Bank for the recovery of the balance was slow in reaching the Supreme Court. When it eventually was heard in 1824, the excitement had subsided in Ohio, for times had changed. It is alleged by Frederick Jackson Turner in his *Rise of the New West* that Ohio continued her resistance against the Bank even after the decision.[26] Little contemporary evidence seems to point in this direction.

The attorneys for Osborn in the famous suit were Charles Hammond and John Crafts Wright, lawyers of outstanding ability. Hammond delivered the leading argument. He asked the Supreme Court to reexamine and reconsider the definition of the United States Bank as given in the premise of the Maryland case. If the Bank were in the same category with the Mint and the Post-office, Hammond was willing to admit that it was entitled to the exemptions claimed for it. He contended that the Bank was primarily engaged in financial transactions similar to those of any banking institution, and that whatever functions it performed for the Federal Government were merely incidental. The Bank's attorneys were Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William Wirt, a notable trio, certainly. In his decision, Marshall did not vary from his earlier opinion. He did not contend that the officers of the Bank were

[26] F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906), 300.

officers of the Government, but were agents essential to the fiscal operations of the United States. He therefore declared the act of the Ohio General Assembly which interfered with the purposes for which the Bank was created was unconstitutional.[27]

One is not inclined to argue with Marshall's position in point of logic, for in theory he is unassailable, but even Marshall was impressed by the common sense of Hammond's argument. Even at this late day there is something repulsive in the idea that an institution, which was willing to oppress its debtors to the point of ruin in order to save itself from the effects of its own mismanagement, was cloaked with invulnerability by a decision of the Supreme Court. Marshall, in private conversation, praised Hammond in the highest terms. Such amenities were characteristic of the chief justice, but of Hammond's acuteness there can be no doubt. One writer states that he was offered a position on the Supreme Court by President J. Q. Adams within a year after his appearance in the Bank case. However this may have been, Hammond did not become a judge, but rather an influential newspaper editor in Cincinnati, where he remained active in State and national politics for many years.

In contrast with the calmness with which the Bank issue was handled by Ohio's officials, is the course which the General Assembly followed in regard to the same question. When the dispute had entered the courts, with the sequestering of the money which had been "collected" from the branches, there was little which the assembly could do aside from appointing committees and adopting resolutions, but these things were done with vehemence.

During the critical years in the struggle with the Bank, public opinion was so nearly unanimous in opposition to the institution that few assemblymen were elected who held a contrary view. By common consent the issue was seldom raised at the polls.[28] William Henry Harrison, who was running for the State Senate in 1819 against a popular lawyer named James Gazlay, had to defend him-

[27] 9 Wheaton 739.

[28] *Western Herald,* Oct. 23, 1819.

self from the report that he was favorable to the Bank because he was a director and owned stock. Harrison stated that he had opposed the founding of the branch at Cincinnati, and that although he owned stock, he farmed land worth twenty times as much. He hedged a bit on the question of the tax. He was in favor of leaving the issue to the courts, and was opposed to doing anything which would place Ohio "in an attitude of hostility towards the general government." Harrison was elected by a fairly close margin, and during the subsequent assembly was among a group who might be called "moderates," thereby losing the confidence of some of his supporters.[29]

The General Assembly of 1819–20, although it passed a number of measures designed to remedy the banking system within the State, did not take any important action against the Bank of the United States. There was an apparent willingness to let judicial procedure take its course. Not that the anger against the Bank had subsided, for this was far from the case, but it seems that as the depression continued into its second year Ohioans more clearly understood that the Bank, while possibly responsible for precipitating the panic, was not the fundamental cause of the depression. Many argued, quite correctly, that the whole financial structure needed overhauling.[30]

The next assembly, which met in December, 1820, carefully prepared a set of resolutions which would place Ohio's case before the Nation.[31] These resolutions were largely the work of Hammond, although they were drawn up by a committee which had been appointed to consider a summary of the Bank affair made by Auditor Ralph Osborn. Since these resolutions have for more than a century been cited as an important document in the development of the doctrine of state sovereignty, it may be well to summarize them here.

The first point was an objection to the suit which had been en-

[29] *Western Spy,* Oct. 9, 1819; *Liberty Hall,* Oct. 8, 1819.
[30] *Western Spy,* Aug. 17, 1820.
[31] Ohio, *House Journal,* 19 Assemb., 1820-21, 98-132.

tered in a *circuit* court against the State auditor and treasurer, for they were being sued as agents of the State, and therefore should have been protected by the Eleventh Amendment. The latitude of the Supreme Court's power was next questioned, in phrases reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson's attack on that institution. The principles of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which according to the committee had received the approval of the electorate in 1800, were affirmed with emphasis. Having laid down the premises of their position, the committee next went into the merits of the dispute with the Bank. Elaborate proof was offered that the Bank of the United States was not essentially different from any other banking corporation. The McCulloch decision was criticized, point by point. The report was passed almost unanimously. Only six of the sixty-five members of the House who voted were opposed even to its more radical statements.

Copies of the State's remonstrance were sent to other state governments, to the President and members of Congress, in the hope that sympathy and support would be aroused for the cause. In this the Ohioans were bitterly disappointed, for aside from editorials in a few Virginia newspapers and official approval from Kentucky, there seems to have been little commendation. Of disapproval there was an abundance; even South Carolinian editors condemned Ohio.[32]

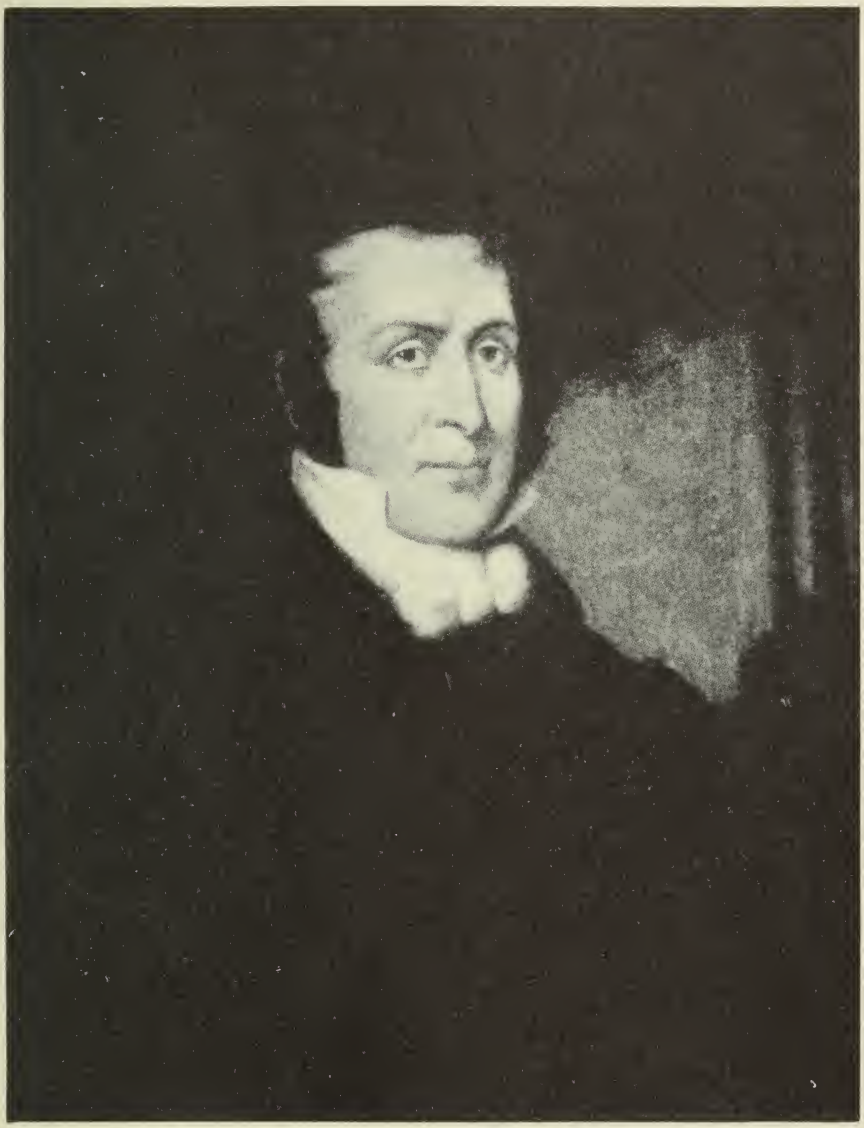
Legislative action was not confined entirely to the drafting of resolutions. In accordance with a recommendation of the same committee a bill was passed to withdraw the protection of the law from the Bank of the United States if it continued to operate in Ohio after September, 1821. In a second bill, the legislature offered a compromise: if the Bank would withdraw its suits and agree to pay either $2,500 or four per cent. on the annual earnings of each branch, the punitive tax would be returned, and the protection of Ohio laws would be given to the Bank. The Bank seems to have paid little attention to either the threat or the offer, and the acts

[32] Warren, *Supreme Court*, I, 530-2; Hamilton (Ohio) *Gazette and Miami Register*, Nov. 2, 1819; *Western Herald*, Nov. 13, Dec. 11, 25, 1819.

apparently remained unenforced until they were repealed in 1826.

A few words of concluding comment may be written concerning Ohio's most forceful statement of the doctrine of state sovereignty. It seems clear that the argument was developed almost wholly to justify the State's course against the Bank. The very men who drafted the resolutions were advocates of national aid in building the Cumberland Road, and in financing the Erie and Ohio canals. The votes of all Ohio's congressmen had been in favor of the tariffs of 1816 and 1824. In these and similar questions, Ohio's economic interests were best served by a nationalistic government; in the Bank matter only were economic interests aligned with an opposite theory of government. In the minds of only a few hotheads was the issue of sufficient importance to warrant raising the question of the value of the Union, but many others were not averse to making their argument as convincing as possible, even if unorthodox theories were brought forward.

Too many pages have probably been devoted to an episode in Ohio's history which was negative in its effect, for the administration of Ethan Allen Brown was characterized by legislation of fundamental importance and the governor himself was a political economist of first rate ability. Born in Connecticut, he had migrated to Cincinnati, after serving an apprenticeship in the law office of Alexander Hamilton. He rose rapidly in the estimation of his associates, and at the time of the reorganization of the Supreme Court under the "sweeping resolution" he was appointed to a judgeship. In 1818 and again in 1820 he was elected governor, each time by a large majority. He served the State well in one of the most trying periods of her history. While he was possessed of excellent legal training his interests seem to have been in the field of economics. In his first inaugural address, of December, 1818, he correctly diagnosed Ohio's most critical ailment as one of transportation: "If we would raise the character of our State by increasing industry and our resources, it seems necessary to improve the internal communications, and open a cheaper way to market for



30. ETHAN ALLEN BROWN, GOVERNOR (1766–1852)
From original painting in Ohio State-house, Columbus.

the surplus produce of a large portion of our fertile country." [33] The remedy, Brown was convinced, lay in the construction of canals connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River.[34]

The interest of Ohioans in canals had been greatly stirred by the progress made under De Witt Clinton in the state of New York, and it was Brown's fervent hope that, by the time the builders of the Erie Canal had reached Buffalo, barges loaded with wheat from inland Ohio would be waiting for passage through to the Eastern Seaboard. Ohio had given her sister state strong moral support in the Erie project from the time of its inception. Ohio congressmen had urged that the National Government should assist with the financing of the canal's construction, and the General Assembly, as early as 1812, had passed resolutions to that effect. When the state of New York undertook to build the canal without Government aid, after the War of 1812 had ceased to interrupt the project, Clinton appealed to Ohio for financial assistance. Worthington placed the request before the General Assembly and the first reaction was favorable, but after a delay the aid was limited to verbal encouragement.[35] Assemblymen at Columbus already were discussing the feasibility of canals within their own State.

There was some favorable response to Brown's message of December, 1818, but three years elapsed before any important action was taken by the assembly.[36] A reading of the legislative record indicates that a relatively small group blocked all progress, with sectional jealousy as an important motive. It is fair to assume that the economic paralysis which prostrated the State in the

[33] Ohio General Assembly, Senate, *Journal,* 17 Assemb., 1818-19, 84.

[34] A large collection of MSS., notably of E. A. Brown, dealing with the history of Ohio canals, is in the Ohio State Library. A good general account is C. C. Huntington and C. P. McClelland, *History of Ohio Canals, Their Construction, Cost, Use and Partial Abandonment* (Columbus, 1905). See also E. L. Bogart, *Internal Improvements and the State Debt in Ohio* (New York, 1924), and J. L. Bates, *Alfred Kelley, His Life and Work* (Columbus, 1888).

[35] Ohio, *Senate Journal,* 15 Assemb., 1816-17, 68; 16 Assemb., 1817-18, 189, 222, 321.

[36] Copies of a large number of the letters of E. A. Brown during this period, dealing with the projected canals, are among his MSS., Ohio State Library. See especially his letter to Col. Haines, Columbus, Feb. 7, 1821, and to De Witt Clinton, Columbus, Feb. 15, 1821.

years 1818–21, rather than mere political bickering, is the best explanation for the delay. In the depths of the depression it was only too clear that adequate support for the building of the canals could not be obtained from private sources, and Congress, when approached in 1820, could not be persuaded to aid the enterprise through a grant of land. Throughout the three-year period the governor continued to point out the great advantages which canals would bring to Ohio and in this educational campaign he was assisted by editors in the regions which would stand to benefit from inland waterways.[37]

In his message of December, 1821, the governor, as usual, made a lengthy statement on his favorite subject. Micajah T. Williams, representative from Hamilton County, offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to draw up a report on canals. The measure passed and Williams was made chairman with Thomas Howe of Trumbull, Thomas Worthington of Ross, William H. Moore of Muskingum, and John Shelby of Logan and Wood counties as his associates. Within less than three weeks the committee rendered a report so painstaking in its detail that one is convinced that much of it had been written before the convening of the assembly.[38] No advantage of a canal system was overlooked, whether economic, military, or political. Most convincing were statements in simple arithmetical terms. In Cincinnati, flour was being sold at $3.50 a barrel, while the price in New York was $8.00. The committee calculated that if canals were available a barrel of flour could be transported from one city to the other for $1.70, which would leave a profit of $2.80. This would make possible a profit of $364,000 on the flour inspected in one year in Cincinnati alone. Even more spectacular advantages would accrue to inland counties which had no alternative to costly overland freighting. The committee was optimistic with regard to financing the undertaking. It was estimated that the cost of build-

[37] For example, see Warren (Ohio) *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Oct. 20, Nov. 17, 1821; June-July, 1822, *passim.*

[38] Ohio, *House Journal,* 20 Assemb., 1821-22, Jan. 3, 1822.

ing a canal across Ohio would be considerably less per mile than that incurred in New York; $2,500,000 was offered as a tentative estimate. It was hoped that Congress would help with land grants which could be used as the basis of loans from eastern capitalists. Following the report of the committee, the assembly passed a measure providing for a commission to make a thoroughgoing study of all problems connected with the construction of a canal system.[39] Benjamin Tappan, Alfred Kelley, Thomas Worthington, Ethan Allen Brown, Jeremiah Morrow, Isaac Minor, and Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., constituted this notable commission. It may be noted here that a bill looking toward the establishment of a system of public schools passed through the assembly simultaneously with the canal law. There is ample proof that vote-trading had aided in the success of the two measures.

The preliminary work of the commission consumed three years although the members went at their task with great energy. Three problems confronted them. In the first place it was necessary to determine the most advantageous routes from an engineering standpoint; secondly, they had to make plans for financing the undertaking; the third and most difficult problem was to propose a route which would meet with the approval of a majority of the General Assembly. Mr. James Geddes, one of the ablest engineers from the Erie Canal, aided in the solution of the first problem. Preliminary inquiries in New York City indicated that money would be forthcoming. To attract political support a compromise was finally adopted between the several routes.

A study of the drainage map of Ohio reveals three fairly obvious routes for canals: First, an eastern route connecting Cleveland and Marietta, by way of the Cuyahoga, Tuscarawas, and the Muskingum rivers; second, a central route from Sandusky Bay to Portsmouth, by way of the Sandusky and Scioto rivers; third, a western route from Toledo to Cincinnati, by way of the Maumee, Auglaize, and Miami rivers. Two other possibilities existed: one,

[39] Micajah T. Williams to Brown, Columbus, Jan. 27, 1822, Brown MSS.; *id.* to *id.*, Jan. 31, 1822, *ibid.*

at the extreme eastern border, might utilize the Grand and Mahoning rivers, and another might use the Black River and the Killbuck branch of the Muskingum. In its first report the commission declared that all five of these routes were practicable.

Almost the entire population of Ohio in 1820 lay to the south and east of a line drawn diagonally across the State from Dayton to Cleveland. It was natural and proper, therefore, that the commissioners should favor a canal system which would serve this area. An ideal arrangement, politically, would have been a waterway connecting Cleveland and Cincinnati, but this was impossible because of the high divide between the Scioto and Miami valleys. A junction between the eastern and central routes was not impossible, however, by way of the Licking Summit near Newark.[40] Such a project would join Cleveland with Portsmouth as well as with Zanesville and Marietta. The idea was so popular that it was incorporated in the final plan, although the shortage of water at the Licking Summit remained a hindrance to through-traffic as long as the canals were in use. The establishment of one canal route was the obligation of the commissioners, but a concession had to be made to the populous Miami country. It was suggested that the Miami-Maumee route should be completed between Cincinnati and Dayton.

The third report of the Canal Commission, rendered to the General Assembly on January 8, 1825, recommended that the construction of a canal should be undertaken at once. If the proper legislation were passed, the commissioners pledged that operations could be started by the first of July. On February 4, 1825, a law was enacted providing for "the Internal Improvement of the State of Ohio by Navigable Canals." Two dissenting votes had been cast in the Senate, while thirteen "diehards" had opposed it in the House. It is of this latter group that Caleb Atwater wrote scornfully: "To this bill, in all its stages on its passage through the house, there was a steady hostility kept up by about thirteen

[40] Alfred Kelley to *id.*, Cleveland, May 31, 1822, *ibid.;* Williams to *id.*, Columbus, Mar. 31, Aug. 15, 1822, *ibid.*

members, whose names will forever stand on the journal of that house, in large capitals. We name them not."[41] The bill specifically provided first, that a canal should follow the route from Cleveland to Portsmouth by way of the Cuyahoga, Muskingum, Licking Summit, and the Scioto, and second, that Dayton and Cincinnati should be connected by a canal. Two commissions were provided, first to supervise the actual construction of the canals and a second to attend to necessary financial arrangements. On the first board Alfred Kelley, Micajah T. Williams, Thomas Worthington, Benjamin Tappan, John Johnson, Isaac Minor, and Nathaniel Beasley were appointed. Thus commenced the active service of Alfred Kelley who, more than any other individual, was responsible for the successful completion of Ohio's canals. The Canal Fund Commission was made up of Ethan Allen Brown, Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., and Allen Trimble.[42]

Financial negotiations with a group of New York financiers, among whom was John Jacob Astor, were completed satisfactorily. The first loan of $400,000, bearing five per cent. interest, was floated at 97½. There was little difficulty in selling later bonds at par. The Canal Commissioners estimated that $5,715,203 would be required to complete the work which the assembly had authorized. This was one-tenth of the assessed valuation of all taxable property in Ohio in 1826. The complicated financial arrangements by which the work was carried to completion need not be treated here, nor is it necessary to comment on the important role played by the canals in the development of Ohio, since both matters are treated elsewhere.

On July 4, 1825, a spectacular event took place at a clearing in the beech forest some three miles southwest of Newark, in Licking County.[43] Governor De Witt Clinton and a party of associates from New York had come to join Governor Jeremiah Morrow and other Ohio notables in opening the canal-building program with due

[41] Caleb Atwater, *History of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1838), 264.
[42] *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Jan. 7, 1825; Kelley to Brown, Cleveland, Mar. 11, 1825, Brown MSS.
[43] Atwater, *History of Ohio,* 266-73.

pomp and ceremony. The spot chosen for the celebration was the high point between the Muskingum and Scioto rivers. When towboats reached this spot on the projected canal, they would have ascended 317 feet above Lake Erie and would start a descent of 415 feet, if bound for Portsmouth. Everyone admired the skill of the engineers who had found a way to join the waters of the Scioto and Muskingum, not knowing that these gentlemen had been oversanguine, and that sufficient water would never be available to keep this highest section of the canal properly filled and at the same time provide the additional water needed for operating the locks at full capacity. But nothing dampened the ardor of the celebrants on that eventful Fourth. De Witt Clinton, it has been recorded, was so stirred that he was seen to wipe tears from his eyes. The orator of the day was Thomas Ewing, a rising politician of Fairfield County, who was shortly to loom large in the affairs of the State and Nation. He was of the second generation of Ohio statesmen, for when Ohio was admitted to the Union he was a lad of fourteen. It was a great Fourth indeed, for on this same day, at a point across the river from Wheeling, the first spadeful of earth was turned in building the Ohio extension of the National Road. With highways and waterways to the East, Ohio's economic isolation would be ended, she would be connected with her natural markets, and a means would be found to rectify the unfavorable balance of trade which had cursed Ohioans since the first farmer tried to market enough wheat to pay the mortgage on his land. The pioneer period was passing.

It has already been noted that progress in legislation for a system of public school education coincided almost to the day and hour with the canal program. This was not accidental. The sentiment favorable to inland waterways was strongest in the central and western sections of the State. The more populous counties of eastern and southeastern Ohio, while not opposed to the canals, were not in a situation to benefit greatly from their construction. The sentiment for publicly supported schools, on the other hand, was quite strong in this area, especially in regions where the New

England element was dominant. Here was the basis for a natural alliance among progressive legislators. A general discussion of the state of education in Ohio is reserved for another chapter, but the course of legislation culminating in the passage of the act "to provide for the support and better regulation of Common Schools," on February 5, 1825, may be summarized here.[44]

The provision of the Ordinance of 1785, which had set aside one thirty-sixth of the land for the support of public schools, was originally applied to the Seven Ranges and subsequently to other congressional grants. By dint of bargaining at the time of Ohio's admission, and later wrangling with Congress, equivalent grants were obtained for areas such as the Virginia Military District, the Western Reserve, and the Military Bounty Lands. The area set aside, exclusive of grants for colleges, reached a total of more than 700,000 acres. The control of school lands was placed in the hands of local officials, but much time was expended by assemblies in passing regulatory measures. It has been charged that the administration of these lands was scandalously wasteful, and it does appear that leases were often given at rates so low as to constitute a breach of trust on the part of the local officials. Members of the General Assembly frequently obtained the use of such lands on most favorable terms. Historian Atwater asserts that one State senator used his office to obtain possession of no less than seven sections.[45]

Down to 1817 the policy seems to have been to rent the lands for short terms. Following that date, long-term leases became common. The policy of leasing was much condemned as offering a temptation to corrupt practise, and for this and other reasons it was abandoned in favor of direct sales after 1827. The consent of the National Government was obtained before the sales were un-

[44] General references: E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio . . .* (New York, 1912), III, 367-96; E. A. Miller, "History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXVII (1919), 7-142; William McAlpin, "Origin of Public Education in Ohio," *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1930), 409-47. Contemporary accounts: J. P. Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1890), 113-75, *passim;* Atwater, *History of Ohio,* 253-63.

[45] *Ibid.*, 253.

dertaken on a large scale. The proceeds were immediately borrowed by the State for use in building the canals. While the sale of school lands was approved by well-intentioned legislators at the time, it is abundantly evident that long-term leases, with provision for periodic reappraisement, would have created an immensely greater revenue than the income from the three million dollars which the lands eventually brought when sold.[46]

There is no reason to assume that the statesmen who originated the idea of setting aside one thirty-sixth of Ohio's lands for educational purposes had any notion that schools could be operated solely on the proceeds from this endowment. The fact that this grant had been made may have actually delayed the passage of measures designed to place the educational system of Ohio on a sound basis. There was no dearth of *permissive* legislation, but it was not until 1825 that the creation and support of a school system was accepted as a State *obligation.*

Three men of Massachusetts birth were largely responsible for the establishment of Ohio's public school system. Ephraim Cutler, of Washington County, sponsored the first legislation and fought continually until it was passed. Caleb Atwater, whose home was in Circleville, was chairman of the commission which drafted the bill which became law. Nathan Guilford, a Cincinnati lawyer, devoted the greater part of his energy for several years to writing pamphlets, contributions to newspapers, and hundreds of personal letters, all in behalf of a tax-supported school system. Associated with these three leaders were scores of others, who, though less prominent, lent their influence and powers of persuasion. A tremendous amount of energy was expended in overcoming the opposition to a general school tax, since it was commonly regarded as an infringement on a property-holder's rights to take his money for the education of his neighbor's child.[47]

Certain foundations had been laid for a public school system before 1825. In 1806 and again in 1814, township trustees were

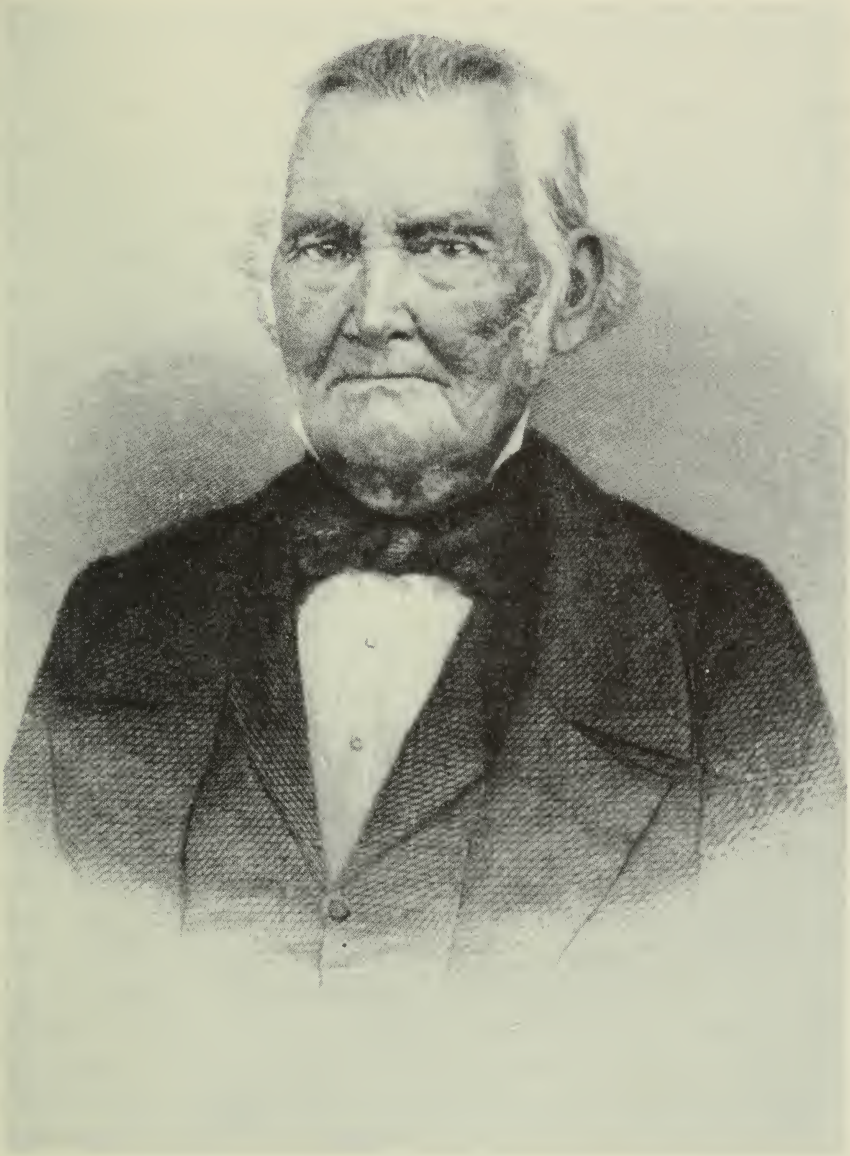
[46] Miller, "Educational Legislation," 80-7.

[47] Cutler, *Cutler,* 174.

authorized to lay out school districts and to provide for the election of school boards, but this was dependent on local demand and was not obligatory. A more important act, passed January 22, 1821, outlined the procedure for establishing school districts. If a majority approved, the districts were laid out with not less than twelve nor more than forty householders in one district. The householders then chose a school committee of three together with a collector and clerk. This school board apparently had full responsibility for hiring the teacher and the management of school finances. A schoolhouse might be constructed if two-thirds of the householders approved. The sources of the district's revenue were the rental of the section of school land and voluntary gifts of cash and lands. A local tax might be levied for the building of the schoolhouse and for the tuition of indigent pupils. The larger part of the expense was borne by assessing the parents of school children.

This Act of 1821, which was generally credited to Ephraim Cutler, was not written in the imperative tense, for which reason it failed to satisfy even its author. During the next two years commissions appointed by the governor gave much thought to the formulation of a better plan. Caleb Atwater and Ephraim Cutler were the most active members of the second commission, which reported to the assembly in December, 1823. Their proposal for levying a general school tax met with so much opposition that no action was taken during that session. The issue was placed before the voters in the election of October, 1824. Nathan Guilford and many other able protagonists filled the newspapers and the mails with their arguments. Public meetings were held for the discussion of the problem of education, and the general public was aroused to the point that assemblymen who convened at Columbus in December, 1824, were ready to vote a school tax.

The Act of February 5, 1825, is of importance primarily because it authorized a state-wide school tax, to be collected and distributed by the officials of each county. The tax rate was not to exceed one-half mill on each dollar of evaluation. It now became



31. EPHRAIM CUTLER (1767–1853)
From *Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery . . . of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1883–1895), IV, p. 998.

the duty of township officials to lay off districts and to provide instruction. Their failure to act entailed the loss of their proportion of the school tax for a period of five years. A county board of examiners was set up by the act which had the power, hitherto exercised by local boards, of passing on the qualifications of teachers. Since the administration of schools remained entirely in the hands of county and township officers, it cannot be said that the act of 1825 created a State school system. But a compulsory tax had been authorized, which was no mean victory for Cutler, Atwater, Guilford, and their allies.

The General Assembly of 1824–25 should be remembered for its progressiveness. This body of men, as we have seen, laid the foundation for Ohio's schools and authorized the construction of a canal system. Still another achievement was the revolutionary change which they wrought in the tax system of Ohio. Votes for this much-debated act were obtained, as in the case of the school law, in return for support of canal legislation. In both deals Ephraim Cutler seems to have been the most active broker. In a letter to his wife he commented that he had purposely kept the tax measure ahead of the canal bill on the legislative docket.[48]

From 1804 to 1825 State taxes were levied on lands in relation to fertility rather than the state of their improvement. All lands were classed under one of three ratings. Rich bottom-lands were listed in class one, and bore the highest tax. Lands in the second bottoms or in the fertile till plains comprised most of the second classification, while the bulk of the third-rate land was to be found in the rough uplands of the unglaciated section of the State. This scheme of taxation had the merit of not raising a farmer's taxes because he improved his land. It also appealed to Ohioans because non-residents, who held lands for speculative purposes, were in a sense penalized for not bring their holdings into production.[49]

The inequities of the system became obvious as the pioneer period came to an end. A fertile farm in the neighborhood of Cin-

[48] *Ibid.*, 164.

[49] N. W. Evans, *History of Taxation in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1906); see also Cutler, *Cutler*, especially pages 134-66.

cinnati which might be worth fifty dollars an acre would not be charged more in taxes than an unimproved acreage in some isolated creek bottom which would not bring one-tenth as much. During the depression which followed 1819 many holdings in the less fertile regions of the southeastern quarter of the State could not be sold for the accumulated taxes. One land speculator of Washington County asserted that the poorer land of that region was not worth the tax levied against it over a seven-year period. Settlers in the less populous counties complained, with reason, that although they bore a full share of taxes the State revenues were largely spent in the more thickly populated counties.[50]

Those counties which suffered under this obsolescent system had found it difficult to bring about any reform, because the more populous and powerful counties had an interest in preserving the *status quo*. Bitterness was felt by the leaders in the Marietta region against the selfishness of the politicians of the Scioto and Miami settlements. The desire of these latter gentlemen for support of their canal project gave precisely the leverage which the former had been seeking. Ephraim Cutler, elected to the Senate in 1823, had the backing of all the large landholders of the old Ohio Company when he brought forward his proposal for an *ad valorem* tax on land.[51] He also had the support of many others who viewed the question on its merits. Thomas Worthington seems to have sponsored the measure in the House. It was evident to those who were concerned with raising money for the building of the canal that eastern capital could not be attracted to Ohio unless her system of taxation was brought up to date. The bill, which passed February 3, 1825, provided that an assessor should be appointed in each county, with the duty of evaluating "all lands, lots, buildings, dwelling houses worth $200 and over, horses, neat cattle of three years old and upward, capital of merchants and brokers," and certain types of personal property. The rate of taxation was to be determined by each county, with boards of equalization, in

[50] *Ibid.*, 149.

[51] Allen Trimble to McArthur, Columbus, Dec. 22, 1824, McArthur MSS., XXXIII, no. 6396.

both counties and the State capital, for redressing injustices. Thus a third measure of fundamental importance was enacted by the twenty-third legislative session of the Ohio General Assembly. Within the space of forty-eight hours the tax system was revolutionized. the basis for a school system was provided, and a stupendous canal building program was undertaken. It is small wonder that Caleb Atwater felt that this legislature would long be gratefully remembered by posterity.[52]

There is a parallel between the political history of Ohio and that of the Nation in the period 1816–1824, in that the bipartisan system disappeared almost completely. Rivalry developed in the biennial elections for governor and congressmen, but personalities rather than policies were usually involved. A summary of the contests over the governorship during those years may be offered as proof of the desultory state of politics. In October, 1816, Worthington was reelected almost without opposition. Half-hearted campaigns were started in behalf of James Dunlap and Ethan Allen Brown, apparently without their approval. Worthington received two-thirds of the thirty thousand votes cast. In 1818 the contest was between Brown and Dunlap, Brown receiving all but 8,075 out of a total of 38,269 votes. In 1820 the name of Jeremiah Morrow, Ohio's popular congressman, was placed in opposition to Brown's, although Morrow did not openly assent to his candidacy. Of the 48,850 votes cast, Brown received almost three-fourths. Brown served only one year of his second term, when he resigned to fill the remainder of the term of William Trimble, United States senator, who had died in office. Allen Trimble, speaker of the Ohio Senate, became acting governor, the third in Ohio's first twenty years of statehood. The election of 1822 was more spirited, although it was a personal race between Trimble and Morrow, rather than a contest over principles. Trimble won, without receiving a majority, and it was commonly believed that a number of minor candidates deprived Morrow of support which would normally have been his. In 1824, the lesser candidates were

[52] Atwater, *History of Ohio,* 262.

dropped, and Morrow was elected over Trimble by the narrow margin of 2,418 out of a total of 76,634 votes. In none of these four elections could it be said that the candidates represented divergent viewpoints, for on such important issues as opposition to the Bank of the United States and the support of the canals and the public school system, all were of a common mind.

During the period 1818–19 there was some warmth engendered over the question of calling a convention for the revision of the Constitution. There were several obvious defects in the document drawn up in 1802, two of which were outstanding.[53] The judiciary, as set up by the pioneers, was on the point of breaking down from overwork. The justices of the State Supreme Court rode a circuit, as did the judges of the court of common pleas. A second defect was the omission of a clause prohibiting the appointment of legislators to positions created by the assembly in which they were serving. There is abundant evidence that assemblymen lobbied shamelessly among their colleagues for such appointments. It was also charged that the control over State funds was imperfect under the original provisions of the document. By a joint resolution of the General Assembly of 1818–19, the question of calling a convention was placed before the voters in the election of October, 1819.[54] This seems to have been the first use of the referendum in Ohio, since the Constitution, it will be remembered, was not submitted to the people. The voting was rather light, but the vote was five to one against a convention.[55] The suggested reforms did not seem essential to the voters, evidently, and they had warned that a convention might introduce slavery into Ohio or restrict suffrage, or commit other outrages.

The move to call a constitutional convention was defeated largely by the specter of slavery. While this fear was patently absurd, it indicates the feeling which had been aroused in Ohio over the

[53] James Wilson to Brown, Steubenville, Mar. 4, 1819, Brown MSS.; Edward King in *Western Spy,* Sept. 18, 1819; Joseph Barker, reprinted in *Miami Herald,* Sept. 21, 1819; *Philanthropist* (Mt. Pleasant, O.), May 8, 22, 1819.

[54] *Miami Herald,* June 15, 1819.

[55] Hamilton *Gazette,* Dec. 28, 1819; *Liberty Hall,* Oct. 19, 1819.

national debate on the Missouri question. Early in the course of that discussion the General Assembly had passed a resolution instructing Ohio congressmen to vote against the extension of slavery.[56] Newspapers throughout the State devoted much space to antislavery editorials and communications. A well-attended mass meeting held in Cincinnati late in 1819 urged Congress not to create another slave state.[57] The final text of the Missouri bill was printed in many papers in March, 1821, usually with unfavorable comment. Some editors wrote moderately that they were willing to "bow to the will of the majority," [58] and some even took the view that Congress had no right to exercise control over the formation of a state constitution.[59] The editor of a leading Cincinnati journal wrote that "between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states, there is a moral difference, a kind of instinctive antipathy which no political ties are strong enough totally to eradicate." [60] He prophesied that increased difficulties would be encountered by Kentuckians in recovering slaves who escaped into Ohio. James Wilson, vigorous editor of the *Western Herald* of Steubenville, refused on moral grounds to insert descriptions of runaway slaves. His stand was generally condemned by other editors, who asserted that since slaveholding was legal such advertisements must be published, out of fairness to slave-owners.[61] The intense antislavery feeling which was prevalent in Ohio in the early 1820's led politicians to predict that that issue would play a large part in the approaching Presidential election.

The people were rather indifferent to Presidential elections during the long reign of the Virginia dynasty, since no important issues were at stake. As the year 1824 approached, an entirely new attitude developed, and the newspapers hastened to align themselves behind the various favorite sons. While the personalities

[56] *Ohio Patriot,* Jan. 29, 1820.
[57] *Liberty Hall,* Dec. 21, 1819.
[58] *Western Herald,* Mar. 18, 1820.
[59] Portsmouth (Ohio) *Scioto Telegraph,* Mar. 25, 1820; *Western Spy,* June 8, 1820.
[60] *Liberty Hall,* June 22, 1820.
[61] *Western Herald,* July 1, 1820; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette,* Nov. 16, 1820; *Philanthropist,* Aug. 5, 1820; *Western Spy,* June 22, 1820.

of the candidates weighed heavily, the campaign was fought largely over principles which were vital to Ohio. Toward two questions the majority of Ohioans had developed strong negative reactions. They were, in the first place, opposed to the Bank of the United States for reasons which are clear to the readers of this chapter. Second, they were opposed to the extension of slavery and had come to view the slaveholding states as unfriendly to "western interests." So much for the negative issues. On the positive side, the citizens were united in favor of what was variously described as "the domestic policy," "the western interests," or "the American system." By common understanding, government encouragement of internal improvements and the protection of manufactures by a tariff were the cardinal points in this economic system. Almost all westerners were engaged in producing agricultural surpluses. Roads and canals must be built to bring these goods to a market. The growth of manufactures would create consumers for what the farmers had to sell, both within the State and within the Nation. With these principles in mind we may turn to the examination of the various men whose names were being brought before the voters. Six candidates, De Witt Clinton, William Harris Crawford, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson, were held up for public scrutiny. The first three were out of the running in Ohio before the campaign was well advanced.

In the early months of the preliminary campaigning De Witt Clinton was a strong candidate in Ohio. He had support in the northeastern counties because of his leadership in the construction of the Erie Canal. His advocacy of the "domestic system" was the basis of his strength in all parts of the State, particularly in the Cincinnati region, where Clay, the nominal spokesman for this policy, was detested for his connection with the Bank of the United States. To many politicians Clinton appeared as the only candidate who could take votes away from Adams in New England and from Clay in the West. Those who supported him could show that the interests of Ohio and New York, as grain-growing and manufacturing states, were essentially the same. His election was urged by

a mass-meeting held in Cincinnati as early as December, 1822, and if Clinton's own state had backed his candidacy, he would have been a strong contender, but when he failed to obtain this support, his cause was abandoned early in 1824.

Crawford never had a chance in Ohio. As secretary of the treasury he had condoned the ruinous policy of the Bank of the United States toward its western debtors. Because his principal support was in the South, it was assumed that he could not be sympathetic with internal improvements or a protective tariff, and on these points he did not make his stand clear in the course of the campaign. Whatever support he may have had in Ohio was estranged by the congressional caucus of February, 1824. The only prominent Ohioan to support Crawford was Senator Benjamin Ruggles, who not only attended the caucus, but served as it chairman. His political career was all but ruined by the storm of criticism which followed.[62]

It seems somewhat incongruous, in the light of his later career, that Calhoun was actively supported in Ohio as a friend of internal improvements. He was admired for his efficient management of the War Department and those Ohioans who had been in Washington were impressed with his eloquence and obvious sincerity. His first and leading supporter in Ohio was Judge John McLean of the State Supreme Court, an able young man who was "on the make." McLean continued to advocate Calhoun's cause after his appointment in September, 1822, as commissioner of public lands, an office which Calhoun had helped him to obtain. When he became postmaster-general he was accused, in Ohio at least, of flooding the mails with Calhoun pamphlets. The triumph of the Jackson forces in the Harrisburg convention brought an end to Calhoun's hopes.

Jackson entered the Ohio race as a minor contender but came within less than a thousand votes of winning the election. His personal popularity, as the hero of New Orleans, was his greatest

[62] Painesville (Ohio) *Telegraph,* Feb. 26, 1824; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Friend of Freedom,* Mar. 1, 1824; *Supporter,* Mar. 21, 1824.

asset, but his adherents also painted him as the enemy of aristocracy and the friend of western economic interests. It was assumed that Jackson, as a westerner, was in favor of internal improvements and the protective tariff, although convincing proof was lacking and the general did little to clarify his stand. His cause in Ohio, as elsewhere, was greatly strengthened by the rapid growth of his following in Pennsylvania. This was especially important in the eastern counties which were closely tied to Pennsylvania interests. It was assumed in Ohio that he and Clay were agreed on fundamental issues. During the heat of the campaign Clay's friends urged that Jackson's name be withdrawn in Clay's favor, and vice versa, for the sake of western unity.

The strength of John Quincy Adams in Ohio was relative to the importance which the voters attached to the slavery question. This issue seemed less important in 1824 than it had in 1820, when the Missouri question was still being discussed, yet the Quakers of Ohio, the only coherent antislavery group, seem to have supported Adams consistently.[63] The New England settlements, it was assumed, would support Adams unanimously, which did not come to pass, but the New England influence was observable in the emphasis which was given in the Adams press to his education and his long training in government service. His intellectual qualifications could not be attacked save by raising the cry that he was an aristocrat and a Unitarian. The Adams campaign was not well managed in Ohio, or in the Nation, for that matter. His record and public statements on the issues of the tariff and internal improvements should have made him acceptable to the West, if he had reaffirmed his opinions in a clear-cut fashion. This he did not do, possibly because he feared to estrange some of his following in the South and in New England. If this was his strategy, it was probably an error, for if he had made a play for western support he could easily have cut Jackson's lead in Ohio at any rate.

The position of Henry Clay in relation to the slavery contro-

[63] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Times*, May 19, 1824.

versy was the converse of that of Adams, for Clay's strength increased as the importance of that issue faded into the background. The Kentuckian was the strongest candidate in Ohio from the outset, but had to contend against two charges: his association with the Missouri bill, and the fact that he had been a leading attorney of the Bank of the United States. These two objections remained important to the end of the campaign in the minds of many voters, particularly in the Cincinnati region, where the branch Bank had wrought such havoc. On the other hand, Clay was the very embodiment of "the American system." Even while the campaign was coming to a climax, he was dealing mighty blows in Congress in behalf of the tariff of 1824. Editor James Wilson, of Steubenville, became one of Clay's most ardent advocates after it became apparent that Clinton could not succeed in Ohio.[64] Yet Wilson was consistently opposed to slavery. He did not attempt to gloss over Clay's proslavery leanings, but said simply that "half a loaf is better than no bread." It will be recalled that Charles Hammond was the foremost leader in Ohio's crusade against the Bank of the United States, yet as a writer for *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* he was one of Clay's ablest lieutenants in the very center of the anti-Bank area. The position of these two influential men, opponents of both slavery and the Bank of the United States, doubtless indicates a general trend among Ohio voters.

If any useful purpose were served, one might carry an account of the Ohio campaign of 1824 to great length, for newspaper files abound in political comment and manuscript collections contain revealing letters. The result of such a study would reveal much transparent chicanery, particularly in the weeks preceding the election. In 1823 the editors made a pretense of being objective, but as the issues were brought into sharper focus this pretense was dropped and rival editors descended to arguments *ad hominem*. Clay became a dissolute gambler, Adams an aristocratic infidel, and Jackson a bloody duellist, ever ready to defy the law. Clay's advocates were apt to find greasy cards in the mail, while friends

[64] *Western Herald,* Apr. 10, 1824.

of Adams received copies of the Alien and Sedition Acts or other blunt reminders of their candidate's antecedents.[65] Tactics such as these were commonplace in those days, but in this election they indicate the abandonment of all hope of compromise between the rival candidates. Political deals of great ingenuity had been worked out in the pleasant days of 1823; usually the opposing camp was urged to submit its candidate's name for the Vice-Presidency in order to preserve a united western front. The report of one such "deal" may have injured the cause of Henry Clay. It was alleged that Clay had promised to support Crawford in the House election, provided Clay was not among the first three candidates in the electoral vote.[66] In return for this, the friends of Crawford, who had no electoral ticket, were to vote for Clay. This rumor, and it was no more than that, was vehemently denied, for Crawford was the most unpopular of the national candidates in Ohio. Clay's friends had to work arduously to "scotch" another rumor during the week preceding the election. Members of Jackson committees circulated handbills announcing that Clay's name had been withdrawn and that his followers were expected to vote for Jackson. These instances may serve as evidence of frontier political ingenuity.

Election day came amid a shower of last minute pamphlets and handbills. The earliest returns were from the populous counties of the Miami Valley, where Jackson was substantially in the lead. Clay's strength became apparent when the central counties were heard from. The counties carried by Adams were in areas originally settled by New Englanders, but to the surprise of his supporters, he did not carry all such counties, notably a block of four in the Reserve, Lorain, Cuyahoga, Medina, and Portage, which he lost to Clay. The final returns gave Clay 19,255 votes to 18,489 for Jackson and 12,280 for Adams. The total vote cast was only 50,024, whereas a month before 76,634 voters had turned out for the Morrow-Trimble contest, although no important issues were

[65] Newark (Ohio) *Advocate,* Apr. 29, 1824.

[66] *Ibid.,* May 6, 1824.



MAP 8. ELECTION OF 1824

From information in E. H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), vol. XXVI (1917), p. 153–224.

at stake.[67] It comes as an anticlimax to one who has read through the lengthy columns of political comment to discover that less than one-twelfth of Ohio's population indicated its choice for Presi-

[67] Ohio Secretary of State, *Ohio Election Statistics, 1914* (Springfield, O., 1914), 3; Columbus *Gazette,* Nov. 11, 1824; *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Nov. 26, 1824.

dent. One may guess that over half the qualified voters stayed away from the polls. The indifference of the voters was explained at the time on the grounds that they realized that the final decision in this contest was to be made by the House of Representatives, which seems plausible.

A map of the election presents some interesting facts, but the reader should be warned that no distinction is made between the counties which were carried by a large majority and those carried by a small plurality. Clinton County, for example, is given to Clay, although he had only two more votes than Jackson, and only nineteen more than Adams. A fairly large group of counties in the central part of the State, Richland, Knox, Licking, Franklin, Fairfield, and Hocking, were carried by Clay by small margins. It will also be observed that Clay is shown to have had the lead in the northwestern counties, which is true, but the population in that area was negligible, Williams and Wood together, for example, polled less than one hundred votes. In contrast with the support given to Clay, Jackson's strength tended to be concentrated. He carried only sixteen counties to Clay's forty-three, and yet his total was within 766 of Clay's. The explanation is that the populous area in the Miami region and a block of well-settled counties along the Pennsylvania border were strongly for him. One-third of Jackson's total vote came from Hamilton, Butler, Clermont, and Warren, the four southwestern counties, evidence of an efficient party organization and also of the persistence of the Bank question in that quarter. In general it may be said of the election of 1824 that political affiliations were not yet crystallized. After four more years of electioneering these party lines became painfully distinct. In the election of 1828 Ohio voters were no longer indifferent, for 131,000 went to the polls in that year, a truly remarkable increase over the bare 50,000 who had participated four years earlier.

The apathy shown by the light vote of November persisted after the choice of President had been delegated to the House of Representatives. Ohioans were far more interested in the canal, school, and tax legislation then being debated in the General Assembly at

Columbus, than they were in affairs in Washington.[68] The friends of Clay regarded the choice as one between two evils, since neither Adams nor Jackson had taken an unequivocal stand on what they considered to be western interests. The followers of Jackson, encouraged by the showing which he had made in November, attempted to build up popular pressure behind their leader. Ohio's congressional delegation for several weeks seems to have been in a quandary. Congressman Duncan McArthur, in a letter of January 21, 1825, described the situation to his son: "I find my friends differ so much in opinion as to the proper person to be supported for President, that I shall be under the necessity of exercising my own Judgement on that important subject. It is yet uncertain wether [*sic*] Ohio will support Adams or Jackson, but it is now prety [*sic*] certain that the vote of Ohio & its influence will make the choice between those two gentlemen." [69] McArthur, at about this time, received a letter from Acting-Governor Trimble, giving a brief analysis of the state of opinion in Ohio: "Between those returned I have but little choice, but believe the '*reflecting*' part of the people of Ohio would prefer Adams to Jackson, but I have no doubt but Jackson would in an election, have a majority of *votes*." [70]

The vote of Ohio's congressional delegation was given to Adams, the division among the fourteen representatives being Adams ten, Jackson two, Crawford two. There is no reason to believe that the decision was reached otherwise than by an honest consideration of the qualifications of the three candidates. While it was true that Jackson had a larger popular vote than Adams, the concern of the congressmen was to interpret the desires of the 19,000 who had voted for Clay. McArthur was one of the ten who supported Adams. He wrote a second letter of political comment to his son: "When we first took our stand, we were ourselves doubting as to the correctness of the course, but we are now perfectly convinced that

[68] Anthony Walker to McArthur, Chillicothe, Jan. 28, 1825, McArthur MSS., XXXIII, no. 6440.
[69] McArthur to T. J. McArthur, Washington, Jan. 21, 1825, *ibid.*, no. 6437.
[70] Allen Trimble to McArthur, Columbus, Dec. 22, 1824, *ibid.*, no. 6395.

we have been fortunate in our choice. . . . God keep us from such an administration as we might expect from such a man as Genl. Jackson." [71] The greatest objections to Jackson, as expressed at this time, were his lack of experience in office, his lack of self-control, and, most important, the fact that he was not, at least candidly, in favor of "western interests" as defined by Ohioans. The best proof that the decision of Ohio's congressmen was not in defiance of public opinion is that after the next congressional election twelve out of fourteen congressmen were supporters of Adams. Of the ten who voted for Adams in 1825, eight were candidates and all were reelected.

The news of the House election was received with little comment by Ohio newspapers excepting those which had supported Jackson. The *National Republican* (Cincinnati) published the news under the heading: "The long agony is over—The Bourbons are restored." Benjamin Briggs, who since 1820 had been editing the *Advocate* in the little village of Newark, was so irritated that he dressed his paper in mourning. "Hung be the heavens in black! So indeed they were all last week, out of sympathy for the people of Ohio, whose wishes have thus been treated with contempt by their representatives in Congress. . . . What course ought the People of Ohio and Kentucky to pursue? Not, it is hoped, by violent and intemperate acts—not by tar and feathers, or effigy burnings, but by the fresh drawing of the old party lines; by giving those who voted for Mr. Adams leave to stay at home, and by sending Republicans of the Jeffersonian school to Congress—men who cannot be bought—to watch Mr. Adams." [72] Sentiments such as these were often repeated in the months which followed. In the memorable election of 1828 Jackson defeated Adams by a count of 67,597 to 63,396. In the bitter partisan rivalry which lay ahead, Ohio was to play her full part, but that is a story to be told by another writer.

[71] McArthur to T. J. McArthur, Washington, Feb. 2, 1825, *ibid.*, no. 6445.
[72] *Advocate*, Feb. 17, 1825.

CHAPTER XII

Sickness and Doctors

A CHAPTER on the illnesses of early Ohioans, together with some discussion of the well-intentioned and sometimes well-trained physicians who sought to treat them, is warranted because the pioneers themselves were greatly concerned if not almost obsessed with these topics—not that they were greatly different from people of any other age or place in this regard. Private letters and diaries refer frequently to periods when the general health was low, and travelers, who naturally followed the malarial watercourses, commented on the chills and fevers with which all Ohioans seemed to be afflicted. The newspapers, usually oblivious to matters of common knowledge, would note the course of the "autumnal fevers" and would often carry accounts of an epidemic in some neighboring community. The editor of the Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette* (September 4, 1923), for example, informed his readers that in the Sandusky Plains "the inhabitants have suffered severely from the prevailing diseases of the country, during the present season. Whole families and even whole neighborhoods, are so much disabled as scarcely to be capable of rendering any assistance to each other. This sore affliction is perhaps owing more to the hardships and inconveniences which the new settlers are obliged to encounter than to the insalubriousness of the climate, or to any general cause. . . ." In the period of the Great Migration after the War of 1812, when the "Ohio Fever" caused such consternation among the New England States, the unhealthfulness of the Ohio region was one of the bugaboos with which eastern editors tried to discourage the western exodus. Daniel Drake, father of Ohio physicians, answered these eastern critics by telling the truth. This he did in a chapter entitled

"Medical Topography" in his justly famous *Picture of Cincinnati.*[1]

Drake mentions the disorders, from apoplexy to whooping-cough, with which westerners were afflicted. Many of these, tuberculosis and rheumatism among others, he considered to be less prevalent in Ohio than in the East. Croup, among children, was often dangerous, although affections of the throat and lungs were in general no worse than along the Atlantic Coast. But of fevers "ascribed to the exhalations from putrefying animal and vegetable substances; from alluvial ground, and from ponds and marshes, we have," admitted Drake, "perhaps the whole catalogue, with the exception of the Yellow Fever of the Eastern cities. In the country, especially along the water courses, *Remitting* and *Intermitting Fevers,* including *Ague,* prevail every autumn. . . ." Dysentery appeared sporadically every summer, becoming epidemic every two or three years. The most common epidemics were measles and whooping-cough, which swept over the Ohio country every year or two. Influenza appeared less frequently, although 1807 was long remembered for an epidemic of this disease in a fairly mild form. Smallpox and scarlet fever had not been prevalent for more than a dozen years at the time Drake wrote. Typhoid pneumonia, commonly called the "cold plague," was particularly bad in the years 1812–14. Drake also gives attention to the "sick-stomach," a debilitating fever which affected many of the inhabitants of the upper Miami Valley. This was doubtless the same as the "milk-sick" which was responsible for the death of Abraham Lincoln's mother. Drake states that this disorder was ascribed to some noxious weed which contaminated the milk of domestic cattle, which is now known to have been the case, although he preferred to believe that it was due to "marsh exhalations." [2]

Mortality tables were not available at the time Drake wrote his essay. He estimated that cholera infantum was responsible for the greatest number of deaths among children. This affliction was particularly dangerous in the second summer. Convulsions in the

[1] *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815).
[2] *Ibid.,* Ch. V, "Medical Topography," 179ff.

first month after birth, and croup, attacking infants under two years of age, were in his opinion next most dangerous. "Of adults, the greatest number die with bilious and typhous fevers; with pulmonary inflammation, and with affections of the liver, stomach and bowels."[3] June and July were the most dangerous months for children, while the late summer brought the greatest mortality to adults. Drake's observations are verified by a study of such death notices as appeared in the Cincinnati newspapers in the years 1822–24. Interments in the cemeteries of the city were by this time a matter of public record. The reports available are too fragmentary for generalization, but some trends may be mentioned. In thirteen weeks, scattered through a period of more than two years, there were some ninety burials in the cemeteries. Thirty of these deaths were ascribed to bilious fever and cholera infantum. Consumption was responsible for eight fatalities, and measles for seven. The remainder was rather evenly distributed among several diseases, while fifteen deaths were ascribed to unknown causes. The distribution according to age was not completely recorded, but among sixty-five deaths in this period, thirty-seven were of infants under one year, and ten more between one and ten years.[4] Infant mortality, one must conclude, was a terrifying scourge, although there is no reason to assume that it was worse in Ohio than to the eastward.

Among all the ailments suffered by the pioneers of the Mississippi Basin, malaria, while not often directly fatal, was doubtless the most persistent and annoying. In Ohio, as elsewhere, the "chills and fever" were ascribed to decaying vegetable and animal matter in the marsh-lands and the flooded river-bottoms. Drake warned against "marsh effluvia" particularly in the evenings of summer and fall. He strongly urged that emigrants from regions to the north of Ohio should plan to arrive in the late autumn and that they should find a home for the first season upon an upland farm.

[3] *Ibid.*, 186.

[4] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Gazette,* scattered issues between July 27, 1822, and July 23, 1824.

He had some misgivings, apparently, as to the noxious vapors that were alleged to arise from alluvial soil, but "whatever may be the truth on this point," he remarked, "it is certain that the vallies are less healthy than the uplands. . . ." [5] It is most interesting to see how the native haunts of the mosquito were suspected, while the villain himself escaped suspicion. The following lines from a poem which appeared in an early literary magazine indicate that the insect was cursed rather for his song than for his tainted sting:

"Drive home your blood ensanguined stings,
Bathe in the red tide's crimson springs;
But curse the noise your banquet brings,
Let that subside.
I hold but lightly all your stinging,
Tho' blood from every pore were springing;
I'd murmur not, but oh, your singing
I can't abide." [6]

The value of quinine in the treatment of malaria was, of course, quite generally known. It remained only to find a store where the drug might be purchased and to have the money to buy it, both of which might be difficult matters on the frontier. The well-to-do frequently imported their medical supplies directly from the East and all travelers who had the means carried a box of the more essential remedies with them. Such medical kits were often prepared with great care. Among the manuscripts left by Governor Samuel Huntington is a list of drugs together with directions for their use which was apparently prepared for him by Dr. Elisha Tracy, his family physician, at the time he left Connecticut for the Western Reserve.[7] The list includes, among many other drugs, one pound of red Peruvian bark. A tincture or decoction of the bark was recommended "for the purpose of strengthening the appetite and promoting the digestion." For the treatment of malaria

[5] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 189.
[6] *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* (Cincinnati), II (1824), 32.
[7] Huntington MSS.

the directions of the family doctor were quite specific: "The fever and Ague is more likely to yield to the Bark than any other known remedy if properly administered . . . but the Bark in substance (rather than as a decoction) must be relied on for this purpose and used as follows. After first cleaning the Stomach by an emetic or taking a brisk Calomel purge between the first and second fit divide one ounce of the Bark into twelve equal parts and the night after the second fit has wholly subsided begin the use of the bark as follows. Mix a dose at a time in a little Syrup and Spirit and Water or weak Chamomile tea or simple cold water and take—repeat the dose once in two hours or at such distance of time as to enable the Patient to take the ounce of Bark betwixt the absence of the previous fit and the natural period of recurrence of the subsequent fit. Should another fit recur after taking the first ounce of the Bark renew use of the bark as before after the fit is over." This was heroic treatment and the doctor compassionately adds that in taking bark in such large amounts "the addition of a half grain of opium must be taken in 24 hours to keep the Bowels quiet."

A whole catalogue of ailments known collectively as "autumnal fevers" were doubtless either malaria or accompaniments of that disease. Common names for these ailments were "bilious fever," "remitting bilious fever," "intermitting bilious fever," and "ague and fever." Chills in the forenoon, followed by a fever in the afternoon which lasted until evening, and profuse perspiration at night, these were the characteristics of the malady. "During the exacerbations," wrote one sufferer, "great pain or oppression was felt in the brain, liver, spleen or stomach, and frequently in all three organs." [8]

The Reverend Joseph Badger, pioneer minister of the Western Reserve, was as often depressed from poor health as from the spiritual indifference which he encountered. "This morning I shook with the ague," he wrote in his journal, "followed with a high fever; Saturday took calomel; Sabbath took an emetic before

[8] Caleb Atwater, *History of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1838), 96.

the fit came on. I shook, however, at a fearful rate. Took calomel and jalap on Monday. Having medicine with me, I continued to take an emetic before the shake came on, and calomel the next day, for four or five days in succession. The ague and fever left me in a feeble state, but with a tolerable appetite."[9] After such rigorous dosage, one may understand why the brave old minister sometimes betrayed considerable irritation toward sinners.

The presence of malaria undoubtedly colored the outlook of Ohioans for more than a generation, the malaria, that is, coupled with the effects of the crude medicines used for its cure, and the opium or whiskey, more probably the latter, which were used to alleviate the symptoms. As lands were cleared and marshy places were drained it was commonly observed that the malady tended to decline. Mill-dams, on the other hand, were frequently blamed for its recurrence. Thomas Worthington, writing to Nathaniel Massie in August, 1800, mentioned that the ague had not yet made its appearance, and boasts that Chillicothe might be considered as healthful as Cincinnati.[10] A visitor in Chillicothe in 1805 noted that the intermittent fevers had not appeared during the previous two years.[11]

Doctors, in those days, were summoned only in times of crisis, either to aid a patient who had failed to respond to home remedies or for some unfortunate who had met with an accident too serious for improvised treatment. Preventive medicine was an unknown field, although the family doctor might warn against the danger of falling into a "bilious habit," or Drake might, in the interest of public health, inveigh against the open sewers of Cincinnati.[12] One may well lament over the ignorance of both physicians and laymen, but to do so is to lose historical perspective. The state of medical practise on the frontier is but a phase of the broad field of American medical history. No attempt can be made here to lay

[9] Joseph Badger, *Memoir* . . . (Hudson, O., 1851), 31.
[10] Thomas Worthington to Nathaniel Massie, Walnut Grove, Aug. 14, 1800, Worthington MSS.
[11] J. M. Espy, *Memorandums of a Tour* . . . , *Ohio Valley Historical Series*, no. 7, *Miscellanies*, pt. 1 (Cincinnati, 1870), 18.
[12] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, 190.

the elaborate background which would be necessary for understanding the early western physician and his point of view.[13]

The title "doctor" was loosely bestowed in those days. While it was borne with a sense of responsibility by scores of honest practitioners in early Ohio, it was assumed by charlatans and was often used to conceal quackery. Let us first examine the nature of the training of the honest physicians. Very few of Ohio's early doctors were entitled, as graduates of medical colleges, to append the letters "M.D." to their names. There was too great a demand for the services of well-trained men in the older states. Graduates of the medical school at Transylvania, in Lexington, Kentucky, were occasionally to be found, particularly in the southern section of Ohio, and after 1821 graduates of the Medical College of Ohio at Cincinnati began to appear in the field. A student of the subject has conjectured that less than one-tenth of the doctors practising in Ohio in the first decade of the century had a medical degree.[14] Many of the leaders of the profession, including Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth of Marietta, were not graduates of a medical school. Drake, in many respects one of the most brilliant physicians in Ohio's history, did not receive his diploma from the University of Pennsylvania until 1816, more than a dozen years after he had commenced his practise with his teacher, Dr. William Goforth.[15] Even so, he is reported to have been the first Cincinnati physician to possess the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

These early doctors had been instructed in the mysteries of their profession by the time-honored apprentice system.[16] This may be illustrated by the career of young Daniel Drake. He was predestined for the study of medicine by his father, a farmer from New

[13] A large amount of material printed and unprinted exists which deals with the history of medicine in Ohio. Noteworthy are the published papers delivered under the auspices of the Committee on Archives and Medical History, of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in connection with the annual Ohio history conferences, 1939-1940, and published in *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII-XLIX (1939-40).

[14] F. C. Waite, "Professional Education of Pioneer Ohio Physicians," *ibid.*, XLVIII (1939), 190.

[15] Edward Mansfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Daniel Drake, M. D. . . .* (Cincinnati, 1860), 115.

[16] Waite, "Education of Pioneer Physicians," 192f.

Jersey who had settled in the neighborhood of Maysville, Kentucky. Goforth, the somewhat eccentric but highly skilled medical pioneer of Cincinnati, was chosen by the elder Drake as a suitable "preceptor" for his gifted son. Late in the year 1800, after the boy had barely passed his fifteenth birthday, he took up his residence in Goforth's home. Here he served as house boy, drug clerk, accountant, and general handy man, at the same time reading such treatises as were in the doctor's library. Most important of all, he was privileged to accompany his teacher on his rounds, to observe his methods of diagnosis and treatment, and to benefit from the informal lectures which Goforth, as was his duty, delivered as they made their way from patient to patient.[17]

The usual term of instruction under the preceptor system was three years. It was assumed that the general education of the student had been completed before he placed himself under the tutelage of the doctor. It was understood that as the student advanced in knowledge and skill he would be entrusted with the dressing of wounds, the compounding of drugs, and other minor tasks. Almost every physician had a skeleton as part of his equipment, and it was generally the custom for the student and the teacher to dissect at least one cadaver, provided, of course, that the country cemeteries were not too closely guarded. Out of regard for the proprieties, it was not customary for the students to witness obstetrical deliveries, unless possibly those of negro women.

At the end of thirty-six months of instruction the preceptor granted the student a certificate which specified the scope of his studies. This constituted authority to practise medicine, surgery, and dentistry; in fact limits were prescribed only by one's self-assurance. It was generally stated in the original agreement that the student would not commence his practise in competition with his teacher. Drake was unquestionably precocious, for in 1804, six months before his nineteenth birthday, he became a full-fledged doctor and entered into a partnership with his teacher.

[17] Mansfield, *Drake,* 46ff. See also the early chapters in Otto Juettner, *Daniel Drake and His Followers . . .* (Cincinnati, 1909).

A young doctor who was eager to rise in his profession would avail himself of the first opportunity to spend a year at one of the recognized medical schools. An attendance of two years after one had completed the three years of apprenticeship would ordinarily entitle one to a degree. It was seldom, particularly in the first two decades of the century, that Ohioans could afford to undertake such a course of study. Drake was an exception, for by most exacting economy he was able, after he had been practising for little more than a year, to enroll for a course of lectures at the University of Pennsylvania. He had been attracted to that institution largely by the writings of the great Benjamin Rush.[18] With reputation much enhanced Drake returned to Cincinnati in 1806. Ten years elapsed before he returned to Philadelphia to complete the work for his degree.

It is impossible to estimate the number of doctors who came to Ohio in the early years of the century. It seems probable that they did not come in numbers proportional to the enormous increase in the general population. In any event, Ohio became a happy hunting-ground for quacks and peddlers of nostrums. In order to protect the legitimate practitioners from these charlatans, efforts were made as early as 1810 to set up a system for the licensing of physicians.[19] In that year Hildreth, a practising physician of Marietta and a member of the General Assembly, sponsored an act which provided for the division of the State into districts, in each of which an examining board would have the power to license those who sought to practise medicine. This act was extensively revised the following year. Under this second act a "Medical Society of the State of Ohio" was incorporated for the purpose of exchanging useful knowledge among its members and with the duty of supervising the licensing of physicians.[20] The State was divided into seven districts, in each of which was a board of seven "censors" who granted licenses to candidates who gave evidence

[18] *Ibid.*, 20.

[19] D. D. Shira, "Legal Requirements for Medical Practice . . . ," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII, 181ff.

[20] Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Acts*, 10 Assemb., 1811-12, 58.

of adequate training. An important provision of the act made the practise of medicine without a license an offense punishable by a fine of from five to one hundred dollars. One-half of the fine was to be paid to the informant and the other half to the medical society of the district. This act, with slight revisions, remained in force through the period covered by this study. The effect of this legislation seems to have been to facilitate the detection of impostors rather than to raise the standards of medical education.

Many pages might be filled with the stories of the careers of early Ohio physicians, the hardships they endured, their resourcefulness in emergencies, and their earnest but often futile search for more effective medicines and techniques. Physicians with an inquiring turn of mind devoted much thought to the causation and transmission of disease. Drake in his later career exerted great energy in the collection and correlation of facts in regard to malaria and such epidemics as cholera and the yellow fever. Doctors generally were stimulated by the remarkable progress which was being made in the field of chemistry. This doubtless explains the undue importance attached to the "exhalations" of swamp-land which were commonly held to be deleterious hydrogen compounds. The curative properties of water from the numerous mineral springs were usually esteemed too highly. There was an almost feverish search for curative roots and herbs in the western forests and the lore of the Indians was levied upon for the benefit of the white men. In the course of time a "botanic" school of medicine became so important that a college offering training in the new "science" was established in Worthington, Ohio. This system of medicine, commonly known as "Thompsonianism" by its critics, was regarded as quackery by the orthodox. The heresy must have involved more than the use of medicinal herbs, for all doctors were much more dependent upon vegetable derivitives than upon chemical compounds.[21]

One may well question whether the doctors of this period did

[21] Howard Dittrick, "Equipment, Instruments and Drugs of the Pioneer Physicians of Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII, 198ff.

more good than harm, or whether the followers of the renowned Rush were as worthy of confidence as the disciples of Hippocrates who lived two thousand years before.[22] For this was the age of bloodletting, of violent purges, and of ipecac. While Hippocrates had insisted that Nature cured rather than the Physician, the maxim was now apparently distrusted, and doctors were not so modest. Rush, confronted with the frightful epidemic of yellow fever which overwhelmed Philadelphia in 1793, avoided the abundant clinical material, retired to his study and after some hours of reading announced to the city that the only cure was copious bloodletting and strong purgatives. Blisters, leeches, cupping, and bleeding, emetics, calomel, jalap, and senna, how frequently these terms appear in the medical records of the day! Diagnoses were made without thermometers or stethoscopes, to say nothing of blood-pressure apparatus, microscopes, and X-rays.

Some conception of the treatment of common ailments may be obtained from a series of articles signed "Hippocrates" which appeared serially in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* in the year 1821.[23] There is no clue as to the author, but from the style and viewpoint, one conjectures that Drake had a hand in their composition. An early article in the series dealt with cholera infantum, that scourge of the "second summer." As preventive measures the author urged that the child be kept out of the midday sun and from damp air and fogs at night, that a long flannel nightgown should be used instead of bedclothing, and that cool baths should be given night and morning. A mixed diet and moderate draughts of spirits and water were also aids in prevention. If the child contracted the malady, calomel was first prescribed, then a blister to the pit of the stomach, followed with applications of cold compresses to the head and abdomen. Opium was suggested for the alleviation of the infant's distress. In measles the same

[22] Victor Robinson, *Story of Medicine* (New York, 1931), 450ff.

[23] The series commences with the issue of July 28, 1821. Among noteworthy articles are: "Measles," July 28, 1821; "Contagious Fevers," Sept. 8, 1821; "Of Wounds," Dec. 8, 1821; "Beds and Curtains," Aug. 25, 1821; "Of Rest in Acute Diseases," Oct. 13, 1821.

author recommends bloodletting, emetics, and cathartics, exposure to cool air and bathing of the body with tepid water. He warns against the danger of inflammation of the lungs as a sequel to the disease.

"Hippocrates," who was decidedly opposed to many traditional practises and theories, was evidently using the newspaper in the hope of making converts. He wrote, for example, on the necessity of complete rest in acute disorders, at a time when Rush invariably prescribed exercise for consumptives. He also condemned the common use of feather beds in summer, especially for patients ill with a fever. A truly modern note is struck in an article on the decoration of the sick-room. Drapery, particularly with a variety of colors, and wall-paper with an intricate pattern should be avoided as conducive to delirium in patients with a fever. There should be no canopies over the sick-bed nor other hangings to obstruct the ventilation of the room. He discussed the contagious nature of prevailing fevers with the conclusion that fevers were not contagious unless they were attended with skin eruptions as in measles and smallpox. He argued vehemently against the use of poultices in the treatment of wounds. The sides of a simple wound should be held together with sticking plaster or a bandage which should not be removed for three or four days. "By the expiration of this period, if dirt, splinters and all other foreign bodies were removed before the lips were closed, so that they came fully and accurately into contact, it will be found to have united. This union is produced by the *power of nature alone,* and is always retarded instead of being promoted, by the irritating dressings which are supposed by the ignorant to be so indispensable."

Smallpox, from all accounts, was not a malady of serious proportions in early Ohio. Inoculation had been practised as early as 1793, when Dr. Jabez True of Marietta prevented an epidemic by that means.[24] Goforth is usually credited with having been the first in the West to practise vaccination. The vaccine had been

[24] E. C. Brush, "Pioneer Physicians of the Muskingum Valley," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* III, 243.

brought from England in 1800 and the following year Goforth had obtained a supply and started to use it. Drake, who was studying with Goforth at the time, was the first to submit to it.[25] Massie, in July, 1801, wrote to a nephew, "I have heard a great deal respecting the vacine or cow pox. If it is pretty well established that it will answer all the purposes of the small pox I would recommend it to you to be inoculated." [26]

Not all Ohioans were as open-minded as Massie. Dr. John M. Shawk, the first physician to settle in Lancaster, was shamefully abused for having inoculated his own children. The following petition, signed by a number of Germans of the Lancaster neighborhood, is to be found among Huntington's Executive Documents.

"The Petition of Jno. Michael Shawg of the town of New Lancaster Fairfield County a good & Peacable citizen upwards of Three years & behaved himself well since we know him & been of Particular servis to the inhabitens of Fairfield in his professtion as Physition & Surgen Humbly shews that on Wetnesday January the Twenty fifth 1810 the Petitioner has inoculated 3 of his children with small Pox the Pox first being natural in the county[.] for the same he has been most shockingly abused on the 29th of January five men Jonathan Lynch Thomas Cestne Timothy Sturgen Wm King Jas Hardy has come to the house of the Petitioner with several guns King shot a bullet through the window at the wife of jno m. Shawg broke the door & Lock open came into the House Jonathan Lynch Took Hold of the wife of Shawg Pulling her about & hauled her out of the house & Pushed her with the rifle gun removed her with 3 children 2 or 3 miles into the country in a could cabin. Took hold of Doct Shawg squeezed & Pullet him about his back very much hurt & has received a Rupture your petitioner waiting your order for the said family to return in peace & safety to ther dwelling & enjoy the Benefit of ther property as a good & Peacable citizen

"Your petitioner wishing your honor to grant a Permit to inocu-

[25] Juettner, *Drake*, 17.
[26] Nathaniel Massie to David M. Massie, July 2, 1801, Massie MSS.

late the small pox the subscribers famelis for the benefit & safety of them & further your Petitioner Evermore prays." [27]

A doctor's life was by no means always a happy one, even if such episodes as that related in John Shawk's petition were fortunately rare. Nor was the doctor necessarily prosperous, for although his services were much in demand, the fees were small and difficult to collect in any medium except country produce. No generalization in regard to fees should be attempted, for they were adjusted to the patient and the distance traveled in reaching him. Fifty cents a call, with a dollar for sitting up all night, seems to have been usual. Twenty-five cents was charged for bloodletting and the same for extracting a tooth, with the understanding that a reduction would be made if two or more were drawn at the same time. If the charges for personal services seem small, one must recall the extreme scarcity of cash on the frontier. Charges for drugs were necessarily high, both from original cost and the high transportation charges. A dose of Glauber's salts, an emetic, or a vermifuge, would ordinarily cost twenty-five cents, and the best quality of Peruvian bark (quinine) at times cost as much as a dollar an ounce. These charges, of course, explain the wide-spread use of native herbs and roots as substitutes for imported medicines. The high cost of medicines coupled with the slowness of collections and poor pay for services drove many a doctor to the verge of bankruptcy in hard times. Drake told of the difficulties which Goforth had in levying attachments for unpaid drug bills.[28]

Numerous advertisements give evidence that the general merchants regularly imported medical supplies from Pittsburgh and the East. Even newspaper editors had a hand in the business. John W. Browne, proprietor of the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* announced (October 29, 1808) that he was acting as agent for Richard Lee and Son's "Genuine Patent and Family Remedies," which included such intriguing items as worm-destroying lozenges; antibilious pills; a "Persian Lotion" for ringworm, tetter and erup-

[27] Ohio Executive Documents (Samuel Huntington).
[28] Juettner, *Drake,* 21; Brush, "Pioneer Physicians," 254.

tions; eye-water; toothache drops; "Anodyne Elixir" for headaches, and the "Indian Vegetable Specific" for venereal diseases. The redoubtable Drake, in partnership with his brother, engaged in an extensive drug business. One of his advertisements offers spices, paints, surgeon's instruments, and shop furniture in addition to drugs at wholesale and retail prices.[29]

A long step toward the modern drug-store was taken by the Drake firm when they installed what must have been the first soda-fountain in Ohio. The advertisement of this unique improvement deserves perpetuation in its entirety.

"A Card

"D. Drake & Co. beg leave to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati and its vicinity that they have commenced the preparation of artificial mineral waters, in a retired apartment of their Drug Store, where at all times from sunrise till 9 o'clock in the evening, they will be able to furnish

Acidulous or Seltzer,
Soda, Saline, & Chalybiate
WATERS.

"The three latter are medicinal only; the first is both medicinal and much esteemed as a beverage in hot weather.

"Families can be furnished with this water at their own houses, and invalids who are unable to go abroad, may be furnished with the others in the same manner.

"Those ladies who are desirous of attending at the fountain, may depend on finding it sufficiently detached from the bustle and confusion of business, to render their visits as tranquil as they will be salutary and refreshing." [30]

Innovations were not confined to drug-stores, apparently, for Dr. James Riggs, who settled in 1812 in Circleville, advertised that he had on hand, not only a general assortment of medicines, but also an "Electrical Machine." "Any person employing him as their

[29] *Liberty Hall,* Dec. 20, 1814.
[30] *Ibid.,* June 5, 1815.

family physician," he wrote, "may have the use of the electrical shock, if its use in any case should be deemed necessary, with bleeding and drawing teeth gratis." This certainly should have been inducement enough to have started the young man on the road to prosperity.[31]

Specialization was, of course, both unthought of and impossible among western practitioners. They must be ready to treat their ailing neighbors without benefit of hospitals or of consultation with specialists. The physician, therefore, was forced at times to become a surgeon, and the annals of surgery in the West include some brilliant chapters. There is the famous story of Dr. Ephraim McDowell of Kentucky, who, in 1809, performed the first successful operation for the removal of an ovarian tumor. Less well known, perhaps, is the account of the first Caesarean section performed in the West. This was the work of the Baptist minister, John L. Lambert, who hastily left his evening congregation in a little church on the outskirts of Cincinnati, was rowed across the Ohio River, and there amid most primitive conditions, performed a surgical miracle. Lambert was a pupil and protegé of Daniel Drake, and it was in the latter's medical journal that the first account of the operation was printed.[32] These mile-stones in the history of American surgery, which are somewhat outside the scope of the present work, can have few parallels. The surgical experience of the ordinary practitioner was confined to the amputation of limbs, the suturing of blood vessels in deep wounds, occasional trepanning in brain concussions, and the removal of stones from the bladder after the well-developed technique. But here was adventure enough, calling for a cool head and a steady hand.

Edward Tiffin, governor and statesman, was a doctor of no mean ability. He was once called into the country to attend a man who had cut his foot with a scythe. He found the foot and leg so highly inflamed that amputation was obviously necessary. He lacked the

[31] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Fredonian,* May 2, 1812.

[32] J. L. Richmond, "History of the Successful Case of Caesarian Operation," *Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* (Cincinnati), III (1829-30).

proper instruments, but action was imperative so he went ahead with the tools at hand: "In place of a tourniquet he used a silk handkerchief, which he drew tightly around the leg. Then using his penknife for a scalpel, and a common handsaw for sawing off the bones, he soon had the diseased part of the limb severed, the wound dressed, and thereby saved the man's life." Such an operation must have been excruciating for the patient, strapped down as he must have been, and with only opium and whiskey to give him comfort. Tiffin is also credited with having successfully removed a woman's breast which gave evidence of a malignant growth.[33]

The achievements of doctors were at times considered newsworthy. The following item appeared in a Chillicothe paper of 1818.

"Surgical

"The operation of LITHOTOMY was performed last Wednesday on two individuals by Dr. Dudley; one of them a little boy, seven years old, the other a gentleman of Lebanon, Ohio, Major Philips, about fifty years of age. From Major Philips a stone two inches in length by one and a half in breadth, was extracted. We are happy to hear that the health of this worthy gentleman will be speedily restored: both patients are getting well." [34]

Not all operations were so successful. There is a story, apparently authentic, of a doctor who was called upon to relieve a concussion of the brain. He lacked the necessary instrument for trepanning but without hesitation he used an ordinary half-inch auger to lift the depressed section of the skull. The "doctor" expressed surprise at the fatal consequences of his operation, but this did not prevent his being tried on a charge of manslaughter.[35]

Dentists were the first specialists to make their appearance in the new country. Ohio was destined to become the home of the first school in the United States for the thorough training of dentists,

[33] J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism . . .* (Cincinnati, 1857), 275.
[34] *Weekly Recorder* (Chillicothe, O.), Oct. 2, 1818.
[35] M. J. Carrigan, *Life and Reminiscences of Hon. James Emmit* (Chillicothe, O., 1888), 174.

but those who first practised the art in the State were probably not men of exceptional training.[36] It has already been noted that general practitioners were accustomed to extracting teeth for their clients; "turnkeys," and crude dental forceps were to be found in every doctor's instrument bag. For information concerning the early dentists we are almost entirely dependent upon the advertisements which they inserted in the newspapers. A Chillicothe paper of January, 1815, for example, carried a notice that Robert Smether, dentist, wished to inform the ladies and gentlemen of the city that he extracted and cleaned teeth, removing the causes of their decay, and that he could cure the "scorbutic complaint" of the gums which caused teeth to become loose. He was to be seen at the Bell Tavern, but would wait upon patients at their homes if they preferred.[37] A more complete description of the capacities of the dentists is to be found in the advertisement of a young surgeon-dentist, who made his appearance in Cincinnati in 1816.[38]

"T. ETHERIDGE,

SURGEON DENTIST,

"INFORMS the Ladies and Gentlemen of Cincinnati, that he will tarry a short time at Mrs. Emulong's, Main Street, where he will be happy to attend to those wishing any of his professional services. He has, from a studious application to Surgery, and particularly to that part, been able to make many valuable improvements on the TEETH.

"He cleans, whitens, and separates the Teeth, without the least pain; and when the molares or double teeth, become hollow and useless, he plugs them with gold or tinfoil, which often restores them to their former usefulness: and he inserts

ARTIFICIAL TEETH,

from one to a set, in a neat and durable manner; & when advisable to have them set, warrants them to be permanent. There are many

[36] E. C. Mills, "Beginnings of Formal Dental Education at Bainbridge, Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII, 243ff.

[37] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter*, Jan. 7, 1815.

[38] *Liberty Hall*, June 10, 1816.

who suffer their Teeth to decay, when by an early application to some judicious Dentist, they might easily be prevented. Suffice it to say, that no fashionable person will neglect so important a part of cleanliness. Ladies who cannot make it convenient to call on him, will be attended at their respective houses."

It is with regret, even at this late day, that one reads of the untimely death of a dentist who could write so persuasive an advertisement. The note just printed appeared in the issue of *Liberty Hall* of June 10, 1816. The following November 4 a brief notice appeared in the same paper telling of the suicide of the young doctor, committed by taking laudanum. The editor in an unusual vein comments on the young man's skill in his profession and upon the sorry plight of his young widow.

Early Ohio had her full share of quacks, although the word was doubtless used too freely by the doctors themselves in describing competitors with whom they disagreed. Pages might be filled with their activities, based on contemporary accounts and particularly on the advertisements which they inserted in the newspapers. A certain William Conway, for example, advertised himself as an "Indian Doctor" or a "Physician of Primitive Physic," and claimed that he could "ease or cure all obstinate complaints that may affect the human system" including consumptions, gouts, stone, gravel, phthisis, white swellings and so on.[39]

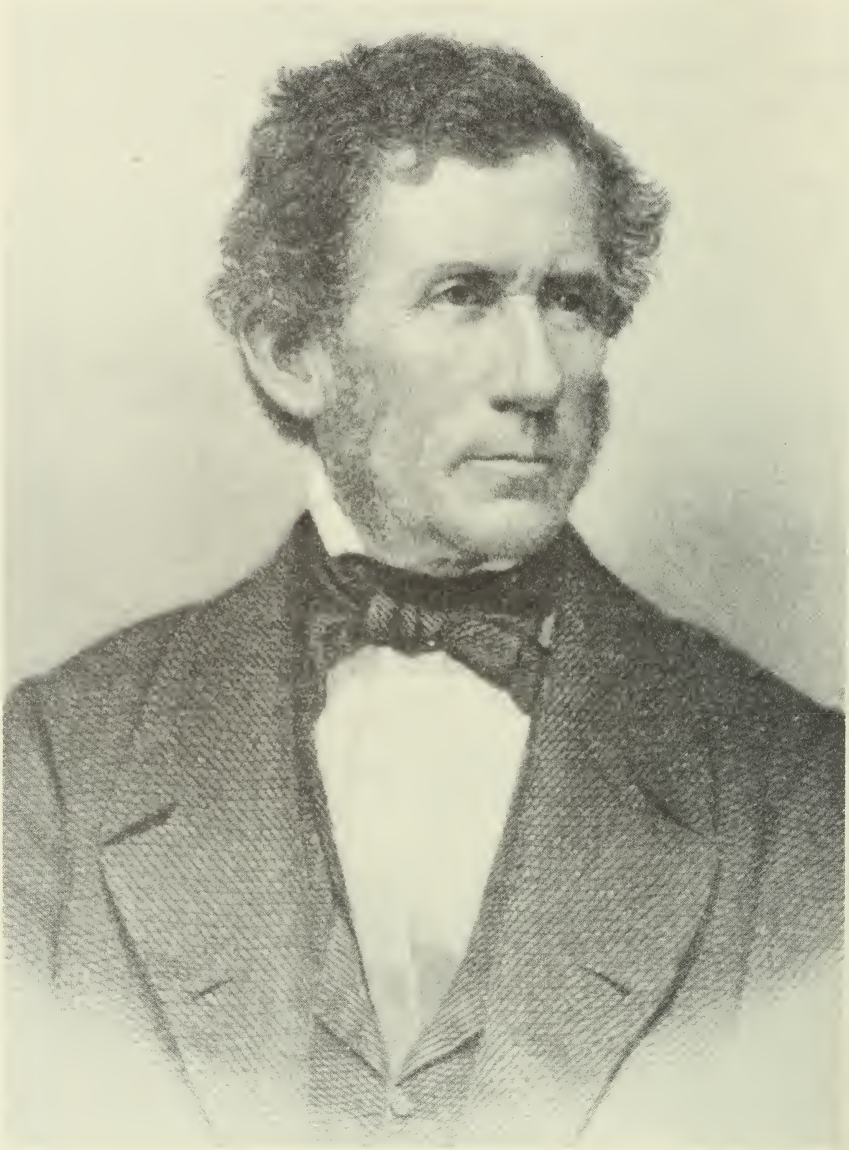
Possibly the most interesting instance of quackery of which there is a full account is that of the patriarchal Swede, Doctor Yernest, who had for sale a most remarkable "Elixir of Longevity." The doctor's long white hair and beard, coupled with his youthful face was living proof of the remarkable properties of his medicine. The mixture, according to his story, had long been a family secret, and through its use his ancestors had all lived to be more than a hundred years of age, while he himself was obviously youthful at seventy.[40] In addition to its quality of prolonging life, the nos-

[39] Zanesville (Ohio) *Muskingum Messenger,* Aug. 19, 1818.
[40] *Liberty Hall,* Jan. 13, 1806.

trum according to the advertisement, "heightens the animal senses, cures the trembling of the nerves, softens and lessens rheumatic pains . . . cleans the stomach of bad humours . . . renders lively, relieves the dropsy . . . softens the ears of the deaf . . . sootheth for a time the pains of a hollow tooth . . . gives color and a fair complexion . . . and cures all intermitting fevers at the third portion. . . ." The "Doctor" did a marvelous business for a time, as may well be understood, and Mennesieur's Tavern, on Main Street in Cincinnati, was crowded with customers. Had he chosen another tavern all might have been well, but Mennesieur, besides being an innkeeper was a keen-minded lawyer who prided himself on his knowledge of European politics. A conversation with the venerable Swede on European affairs convinced the Frenchman that his guest was not all that he purported to be. An argument developed which soon degenerated into blows and "in the excitement of the conflict the wonderful white hair of the antedeluvian came off, bringing to view a mass of bright red curls, as red as the topknot of a woodpecker." This was too much for the Cincinnatians. The "Doctor" made his exit from the town astride a rail, accompanied by strains of the "Rogue's March" played by the local fifer.[41]

There are many stories half concealed and half revealed in the files of old newspapers. One would like to be able to complete the narrative which must lie behind an advertisement which was printed in a Chillicothe paper in 1804. "There is a celebrated Doctor, of the name of John M'Clelland, that can cure the fits of different kinds, agues and fevers. I have followed him for four hundred miles. It is said he was on the Pickaway plains. Let this be inserted in the Scioto Gazette, and if he will answer it and I will pay him his demand. For me, Edward Campwell." [42] The reader may draw his own conclusions. One may picture Campwell, in the dead of winter, hot in pursuit of the doctor who had brought relief from the fits of different kinds from which his family suf-

[41] Juettner, *Drake.*
[42] Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette,* Feb. 11, 1804.



32. DANIEL DRAKE, M.D. (1785–1852)
From *Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery . . . of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1883–1895), II, p. 384.

fered, or, if the reader is somewhat more skeptical, he may surmise that the doctor himself may have taken this ingenious method of spreading the word of his own prowess. If anyone should assume that such guile was not to be found among Ohioans of that day, he is badly misinformed.

Speaking generally, Ohio's early physicians were men of probity, holding a social position surpassed only by the leading local minister or possibly by some lawyer-politician. The peddlers of patent medicines or itinerant quacks served merely to enhance their prestige. Any study of local history will reveal the important services which they rendered to their own communities and in the larger field of state institutional history their contributions were considerable, even in the earlier years. Without disparagement to many other socially-minded physicians, the career of Daniel Drake stands out as preeminent in this field.

Drake, despite his loquacity, his excessive ambition, and undue sensitiveness to criticism, was head and shoulders above his contemporaries in many ways, but most notably as the projector of social institutions. In the history of Cincinnati in the years covered by this study it will be found that he had his hand in virtually every public venture, from the planting of shade trees, and the improvement of the system for the disposal of sewage, to the founding of the Lancastrian School, the Museum of Natural History, the Medical College, and the first State Hospital.[43] In the mind of Drake the four institutions just mentioned were to form a coordinated system for the promotion of higher learning. A "respectable" college was to be founded upon the Lancastrian School as a base, with the museum as an adjunct for the study of natural history. The college and the medical school were to work together in properly educating prospective physicians, while the hospital was to furnish them with clinical experience. The scope of his plan is ample proof that Drake was ahead of even his eastern contemporaries.

The vicissitudes of the Medical College of Ohio, which graduated its first class of seven in the year 1821, make a story so long

[43] Mansfield, *Drake,* 141ff.

and complicated that the reader must find it elsewhere.[44] The troubles developed in part from a conflict of temperaments in the first faculty and in part from the general economic disaster which overwhelmed the country at the time of the school's founding. The college was organized with a faculty of five, with Drake acting as president and "Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine." The charter under which the school operated gave control to the faculty rather than to a board of trustees, which under the circumstances proved to be an element of weakness. Jealousies arose during the first session which became so bitter that Drake was forced by his colleagues to resign. This was a great disappointment to Drake and a disaster for the school. The college, however, survived this first upheaval and, together with a rival institution which was shortly founded in Cincinnati, was largely responsible for raising the standards of the medical profession in the State. Drake had a prophetic vision of the future greatness of Cincinnati, and rightly felt that it should become a seat of learning.

Drake was unquestionably ahead of his time in his conception of the association of hospitals with medical schools.[45] The Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum for the State of Ohio was chartered by Act of the General Assembly dated January 22, 1821.[46] Drake had spent more than a month at Columbus lobbying for the measure. He had the support, fortunately, of Governor Ethan Allen Brown and William Henry Harrison. Under the provision of the charter, the financial support for the institution was well divided. The State appropriated $10,000 toward the building, while the township of Cincinnati furnished the building site. The cost of operation was to be defrayed, in part at least, from one-half of the proceeds of the State tax on sales and public auctions. The institution was open for the reception of "idiots, lunatics, and insane persons" with the understanding that the township from which

[44] For complete details, see Juettner, *Drake*.

[45] R. G. Paterson, "Pioneer Physicians and Their Participation in the Establishment of Social Institutions in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XLVIII, 225. See also A. C. Bachmeyer, "Hospitals of Cincinnati during the Past Century," University of Cincinnati, *Medical Bulletin* (Cincinnati), I (1920), 27.

[46] Act of Jan. 22, 1821.

the unfortunate came might be charged a sum not exceeding two dollars a week for their care. The hospital was to be open for the treatment of boatmen, without charge if they were from Ohio or from states which agreed to give free treatment to Ohio River men. In actual operation the institution was a combination infirmary, poorhouse, orphan home, lunatic asylum, and hospital.

From this hospital, founded almost solely through Drake's efforts, have sprung the various hospitals and infirmaries of present-day Cincinnati. With its establishment, coupled as it was with a college for the training of physicians, the frontier stage of medical practise may be said to have come to an end. Many years were to elapse before the development of anesthesia and antisepsis and even more before the role of the mosquito as a carrier of malaria was discovered. By the time the latter fact was made known the "autumnal fevers," throughout the cleared lands of Ohio, had ceased to be a terror which drove people indoors when the "miasmatic exhalations" arose from the swamp-lands on a summer evening.

CHAPTER XIII

The Struggle with Human Depravity

THE preceding chapter had to do with the physical ailments which plagued early Ohioans and the strenuous but often futile efforts made to counteract them. An even greater amount of time and energy was expended in the cleansing of their souls from besetting sins. A list of the vices which contaminated frontier society was rather imposing: blasphemy, gambling, drunkenness, and fighting were among the more obvious. These and other social aberrations burdened the consciences of the early legislators, who enacted Blue Laws to express their official condemnation. In drafting a complete criminal code, which was the greatest single activity of these early lawmakers, a laudable desire was expressed to reform as well as punish the culprits. The laws to discourage antisocial practises were probably not as effective as the religious regeneration which swept Ohio, along with other western settlements, in the first quarter of the century. Although the message preached by the early evangelists was not the "social gospel" as defined by the teachings of present-day ministers, greater emphasis was placed on *conversion,* the regeneration of the individual. Despite the handicap of their narrow sectarianism, one cannot fail to be impressed with the real achievements of such men as Francis Asbury, Lorenzo Dow, James Finley, Joseph Badger, and scores of other sincere "Bearers of the Word." Their labors resulted not only in the founding of hundreds of congregations but also in a general awakening of the social conscience which expressed itself in temperance organizations, missionary and Bible societies, and crusading periodicals.

To those who think of the early West as an area of unrestrained individualism, the severity of the Blue Laws passed February 9, 1809, will come as a surprise. Although these laws were passed in the administration of Governor Samuel Huntington, who had grown up in Connecticut, where such statutes had been in force for more than a hundred years, there is little evidence that he was instrumental in their enactment. The specific wording of the laws reminds one of the Puritans in their most explicit mood: "If any person, of the age of fourteen years or upwards, shall profanely curse, damn or swear, by the name of GOD, JESUS CHRIST, or the HOLY GHOST, each and every person, so offending, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one dollar, nor less than twenty-five cents, for every such offence." If this statute had been rigidly enforced among the boatmen along the levee at Cincinnati, the whole lot would have been bankrupt at the end of a few hours, if contemporary accounts of their blasphemy are authentic.

Included among the actions made unlawful by the "act for the prevention of certain immoral practices" were swearing, gambling, Sabbath-breaking, and fighting. "If any person or persons shall be found cock-fighting, horse-racing, bullet playing, or engaged in any other species, kind or way of gambling, at any game of hazard or chance, under any pretence whatever, for any sum or sums of money, or other article of value. . . ." they would be subject to a fine of from two to twenty-five dollars. This section of the Act of 1809 was much extended by another statute of January 4, 1814, which made it unlawful to have playing cards in one's possession, outlawed faro banks, and even billiard tables. Tavernkeepers who permitted gaming on their premises were punishable by having their licenses revoked. Possibly because of the heavy fines provided by this act, the framers included a short statement of their purposes. Gambling, they asserted, "must often be attended with quarrels, disputes and controversies, the impoverishment of many people and their families, and the ruin of the health and corruption of the manners of youth, who upon such occasions often fall in company with lewd, idle and dissolute persons, who use this

way of maintaining themselves." The statute of 1809 in regard to Sabbath-breaking forbade "sporting, gambling, rioting, quarreling, hunting, horse racing, shooting, or common labor (works of necessity excepted)," on Sunday. In this and a later act of January 19, 1824, ferrykeepers, travelers, or emigrating families were excepted from its provisions. Fines for the breaking of the Sabbath were not to exceed five dollars.

If one may judge by the accounts of travelers, the commonest diversion on the frontier was fighting for the pure fun of it. While such affrays were most commonly seen among the river boatmen, one is led to suppose that the "yaller blossoms of the forest" would boast of their prowess, and defend it, in any place, without regard to appropriateness, so long as they were properly "lickered up." What shall one think, then, of another section of the Act of 1809: "If any person or persons shall challenge another to fight or box at fisticuffs, or shall endeavor to provoke any other person or persons to commit an affray, every person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, forfeit and pay, for every such offence, a sum not exceeding five dollars. . . ." The fact that a similarly worded paragraph appeared in a statute of February 10, 1824, raising the maximum fine to fifty dollars, must convince one that it was not the intention of Ohio's legislators to forget this law, yet in all probability local braggarts continued to "commit affrays" in spite of it. There is, unfortunately, no satisfactory way of checking on the effectiveness of the statutes which have just been reviewed. It may be assumed that if they were not supported by public opinion they became dead from non-enforcement in spite of the dire penalties which they provided.

A large portion of the time of the early assemblies was consumed in drafting a comprehensive criminal code. This became particularly important after the curious action taken by an early legislature doing away with common law crimes, as such. It seems probable that the wording of Ohio's criminal code was copied largely from the statutes of older states, but some novelty is seen in the use of corporal punishment as a substitute for imprisonment or fines.

Many of these early legislators were doubtless opposed to the use of the lash, but they were faced with a very practical problem. Such county jails as had been built were commonly of logs rather than of stone or brick and were consequently unsuited for the confinement of prisoners over long periods. It was argued that to feed a convict for a protracted time at the expense of the poverty-stricken county governments was poor economy when he could be released after a severe whipping. It was of little use to assess fines when cash was woefully scarce even among those who were accounted well-to-do. In addition to these practical arguments, some contended that corporal punishment was the best means of creating a proper respect for the law. George Tod, the eminent Youngstown lawyer, wrote a Connecticut friend in 1805 that "there appears too great a disposition to introduce into our criminal code the sanguinary principles, that characterized the puritanic days of your state." [1] He was opposed to whipping, although he admitted that it was hard to devise other punishments, because of lack of facilities.

In the extended Act of February 20, 1809, which defined and prescribed the penalty for crimes, the following were punishable by whipping "on the naked back": attempted rape (rape was punishable by death), maiming, forgery, counterfeiting, horse-stealing, burglary, robbery, and theft. The number of lashes specified for the above crimes were the traditional maximum of thirty-nine, with the exception of maiming and horse-stealing which might be punished with as many as one hundred and fifty strokes. A man found guilty of stealing horses for the third time was marked by having his ears cropped. While these punishments were seemingly obligatory, it is evident from other sources that judges in the counties used wide discretionary powers in disregarding the letter of the law, or at least reduced the number of lashes to the minimum. One of the principal sources for a study of the treatment of criminals in this period is the collection of letters to contemporary governors pleading for clemency. Three such petitions, se-

[1] George Tod to Alexander Walcote, Youngstown, Jan. 13, 1805, Tod MSS.

lected at random, pray for the pardoning of a man in Pickaway County sentenced to receive thirty-nine stripes for girdling apple trees, a young man who was to receive five lashes for stealing a "coram" hat, and a child of eleven sentenced to be publicly whipped for larceny. A news item in a Cincinnati paper of 1807 recounts briefly that "Lucy Lightner, alias Ruth Ann Liganier, convicted on three several felonious charges, to all of which she pleaded guilty, received sentence to be whipped on the naked back with nine stripes, being three for each offence. The punishment was inflicted at 2 o'clock P.M. the same day." [2] In a graphic account of a public whipping, a Newark pioneer tells of the reaction of pain and disgust experienced by those who witnessed the performance. He states that this episode, which occurred in 1812, was the first and last of its kind in the history of Licking County.[3]

Public opposition doubtless had much to do with the abandonment of corporal punishment. The building of substantial county jails and the completion of the State Penitentiary at Columbus offered imprisonment as a convenient alternative. In any case the practise fell into disuse and in the general revision of the criminal code in 1824 whipping was omitted from the list of penalties.[4] As late as 1822, however, the subject was debated with animation in the General Assembly. Thomas Worthington was much opposed to public whipping, both because it was a horrid spectacle and because, after suffering such punishment, the offender would "have no remorse towards society thereafter." [5] Those who wished to retain the practise argued that there was little likelihood of reforming criminals, in any case, and that imprisonment for the less serious crimes filled the jails, to the great waste of public money.

The building of the State Penitentiary was undertaken in 1813 and completed in 1815 on a tract of ten acres fronting on Scioto Street in what was then the southwestern corner of Columbus. While the need of a central penal institution was generally recog-

[2] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and . . . Mercury,* Apr. 28, 1807.
[3] H. B. Curtis, "Pioneer Days in Central Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* I, 247.
[4] Acts of Feb. 10, 24, 1824.
[5] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* Jan. 17, 1822.

nized, its building had been delayed because the location of the State capital had not been determined. In his message to the General Assembly on December 3, 1811, Governor Return J. Meigs, Jr., strongly recommended that a penitentiary should be erected as soon as the permanent seat of government was chosen.[6] The work was completed under the administration of Worthington, who took more than a casual interest in its design and construction.[7] It was the hope of those who drafted the rules governing the institution that it should be largely self-supporting, and indeed it may have been, for Columbus newspapers carried advertisements of a variety of goods manufactured by the inmates.

From the annual reports of the keeper of the penitentiary certain interesting facts may be gathered as to the criminality within the State.[8] During the first seven years after its establishment 310 convicts were sentenced to the institution. In November, 1822, the prison population was 113, of whom 103 were white men, 9 were Negroes, and one a white woman. The crimes for which they were committed ranged from arson to perjury, with the following as the most common: horse-stealing 26, larceny 25, passing counterfeit money 16, rape 8, counterfeiting bank-notes 7, burglary 7, forgery 6, and second degree murder 5. The superintendent listed the former professions of his charges: 36 had been farmers, 28 laborers, 7 shoemakers, 4 tailors, and so on, while one was listed simply as a swindler. Twenty-three claimed Virginia as the state of birth, twenty were from Pennsylvania, and ten from New Jersey; of the fourteen who were foreign born, six were from Ireland.

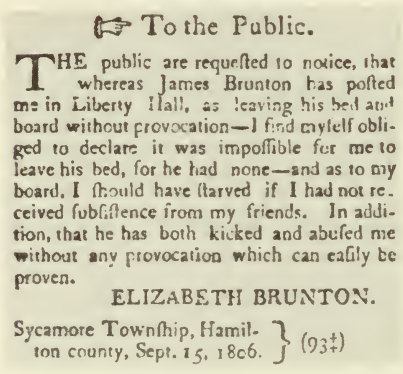
The very nature of the frontier encouraged certain types of criminality. Swindlers, counterfeiters, and confidence men in general could keep out of the hands of the law if they did not linger too long in one place, for means of communication were no faster than a horse, and a man could quickly elude pursuers in the

[6] C. B. Hicks, "History of Penal Institutions in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXXIII, 372ff.

[7] Thomas Bradford, Jr., to Thomas Worthington, Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1817, MS. (in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library).

[8] Columbus *Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1822.

sparsely settled country. The disordered state of the currency throughout the Nation and the multiplication of state banks made the West a paradise for counterfeiters. Thomas Ewing related a thrilling story of the capture of a gang at a tavern near Lancaster on a winter night in 1818. He was the prosecuting attorney of Fairfield County at the time and the exploit enhanced his growing reputation. He was able to get evidence on the criminals with the aid of a dubious character of the county who was willing to pose as a passer of counterfeit paper. The whole crew was captured along with $10,000 in spurious bills.[9]



☞ To the Public.

THE public are requeſted to notice, that whereas James Brunton has poſted me in Liberty Hall, as leaving his bed and board without provocation—I find myſelf obliged to declare it was impoſſible for me to leave his bed, for he had none—and as to my board, I ſhould have ſtarved if I had not received ſubſiſtence from my friends. In addition, that he has both kicked and abuſed me without any provocation which can eaſily be proven.

ELIZABETH BRUNTON.

Sycamore Townſhip, Hamilton county, Sept. 15, 1806. } (93‡)

33. NEITHER BED NOR BOARD
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*, Sept. 23, 1806.

The restlessness which characterized the frontier had an effect on the stability of family life. There is no way of comparing the West with the East in this regard but it is evident from advertisements in contemporary newspapers that husbands, discontented with their surroundings for one reason or another, frequently disappeared over the western horizon. Divorces, on the other hand, were quite infrequent, and must have been fairly difficult to obtain, since they were granted only by the Supreme Court or by a special act of the General Assembly. Bigamous marriage, wilful absence of five years, adultery, and extreme cruelty, were valid grounds for divorce according to the enactment of 1804, and these were later extended to include impotence and incarceration in the penitentiary.[10] Nor were men the sole offenders, as numerous "bed and board" notices testify. This pathetic notice appeared in a Zanesville paper:

[9] Thomas Ewing, "Autobiography," ed. by C. L. Martzolff, *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXII, 165; *Liberty Hall*, Aug. 4, Oct. 20, 1818; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter*, Jan. 13, 1810; June 30, 1819.

[10] Acts of Dec. 29, 1804; Feb. 2, 1821; Jan. 11, 1822.

"My wife, Elenor Dush, has left my bed and board, because I would not keep her mother, and descended the river—leaving her two small children, Barbara and William, crying for their mother. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air provide for their young, but she has left hers destitute. All persons are forbid harboring or trusting her on my account, as I am determined not to pay a cent of her contracting.

"Adam Dush" [11]

It is pleasant to turn from this brief treatment of the pathological side of western society to its normal, healthy aspects. In place of the notices describing broken homes, one takes pleasure in reading the letter which Sally Bacon wrote to her husband, having it printed in the Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette*, for want of a better address:

"To James Bacon Lately from Meadville, Penn.

"Not knowing where a letter will find you I have taken this method to inform you that your family have arrived safe at Marietta, O. and there shall continue till you come or send for them. I have understood that you was here about 3 weeks ago and that you left, probably, in search of me and my family. The cause of our not arriving sooner is, that we were detained 3 weeks by the ice in French Creek and 8 days at Wellsburgh Va. before we could descend the river.

"Marietta, Jan. 1, 1818.

"Sally Bacon" [12]

To assert that the stability of a whole society depends on the soundness of family relationships, is to repeat an idea already old in the time of Moses, but one who studies the early western settlements realizes its full import. When schools, churches, and libraries were either entirely lacking or in the process of being founded, the importance of family instruction was greatly magnified. The Diary of Thomas Worthington, to which many references

[11] Zanesville (Ohio) *Muskingum Messenger*, Jan. 14, 1818.
[12] Columbus *Gazette*, Mar. 19, 1818.

have already been made, reveals that the senator and governor was also the moral preceptor of his young family. On Sundays when the Worthingtons were prevented from attending worship in the village of Chillicothe, they had services of their own. "This warm day at home with my family endeavor to prepare the minds of my children to meet with cheerfulness the will of providence, & to prove to them that the things of this world cannot give solid happiness but that we must look for it in another state."[13] Worthington was an exceptional father, being a devout Methodist and more than half a Quaker.

It is not true that a majority or even a large part of those who settled the wilderness of Ohio were devout churchmembers. If not more than one out of twenty-three Americans was affiliated with a church at the time of the Revolution, the proportion on the frontiers must have been even smaller, and early Ohio was peopled rather largely from churchless frontier settlements.[14] Not only was there a general indifference toward organized religion, there was at times an outright hostility, for how else should one explain the gangs of rowdies who, according to the journals of itinerant preachers, were forever interfering with their services? In a few instances Ohio towns were founded by settlers who had migrated as congregations. Granville in Licking County, for example, was settled in 1805 by colonists from Granville, Massachusetts, who had organized their congregation before starting on the road to the West. In a sermon delivered at the time of their departure the text had been taken from Exodus: "If Thy Presence go not with us, suffer us not to go. . . ." [15] In such New England settlements and in the coherent colonies of Welsh and German immigrants there was a tone of spirituality not met with elsewhere, but even in the Western Reserve the early itinerants were discouraged at the general indifference to religion.

[13] Entry of July 23, 1811.

[14] W. W. Sweet, *Rise of Methodism in the West* (New York, 1920), 38.

[15] Henry Bushnell, *History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio* (Columbus, O., 1889), 38; M. J. Mitchell, "Religion as a Factor in the Early Development of Ohio," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.), IX, pt. 1, (1915-16), 75-89.

Within the space of a quarter of a century the religious situation had been completely changed. This was the result of one of the greatest spiritual awakenings in the history of the Nation. At the very time of the founding of the State, the Great Revival, which had northern Kentucky as its focal point, was spreading throughout southern Ohio, and before many years the benign infection had been felt in all the western settlements.[16] Ohio became a battlefield in which preachers, armed with blunt but heavy weapons, belabored sinners and ministers of rival creeds with terrific blows. Camp-meetings held in the late summer in the pleasant sugar groves or in the beech clearings were the scenes of unrestrained religious emotionalism in which even the conservative Presbyterians participated. It is well to say that the West was never the same after this period of revivals, but one must not overlook the fact that old creeds were supplanted by new points of view and that forms of church governments and practises which were not adapted to western conditions also underwent great modifications.

The Great Revival was, to a larger degree than one might suppose, a cooperative movement. In the Cane Ridge meetings especially, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist ministers joined their eloquence in urging sinners to forsake the error of their ways. The camp-meetings, which were so important in the upbuilding of the western churches, were not usually in the exclusive interest of one denomination, although they tended to become so as sectarian warfare grew in bitterness. The ministers of the various sects were in such close agreement on the essentials of Christian living that evangelistic sermons were much alike in content, if not in style. Sermons which emphasized denominational doctrine became common Sunday fare, however, when once a congregation was established. It was a poor churchmember, indeed, who was not able to defend his position with regard to Arminianism, quote Scripture to uphold the form of baptism practised by his denomination, and speak with conviction on the doctrine of "free will." A whole people thus became skilled in polemics, out-

[16] C. C. Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805* (Chicago, 1916).

standing preachers of rival sects would engage in public debate, and printing establishments were only too glad to be furnished with the full text of their arguments.[17] One great source of dispute was Calvinistic doctrine, but the efficacy and particularly the mode of baptism, seemed scarcely less important to frontier disputants. The Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and, to a less degree, the Baptists, defended Calvinism. The Methodists and the Christians, a western church growing out of the Kentucky Revival, preached the universality of salvation. The Baptists and the Christians, or New Lights as they were commonly called, believed that immersion was the only Scriptural form of baptism, while the Presbyterians and Methodists approved the traditional form of sprinkling. Some might have regretted that the reapers fell to quarreling while the fields lay white for the harvest, but in any case the reapers' wits grew sharper with their wordy disputations.

Certain broad statements as to the distribution of the denominations within early Ohio, while open to criticism, are more true than false. Southern and southeastern Ohio were under the influence of the Baptists, probably because many of the settlers of that region were from the Middle and Southern states. The New England settlements were predisposed toward Congregationalism, while the counties bordering on Pennsylvania were dominated by the Presbyterians. The Presbyterians tended to absorb the Congregationalists in this eastern section, while in the Miami country the Presbyterians were themselves attracted to the Disciples of Christ, or the Christian Church. Unitarianism and Universalism, which the others regarded as dangerous heresies, had made considerable headway, particularly in the eastern part of the State. It is small wonder that the belligerent Peter Cartwright, who in 1806 was assigned to a Methodist circuit along the Muskingum, described his work as a battle with the "isms."

Methodists were widely dispersed through the Ohio settlements except for those populated by New Englanders. Because their the-

[17] An excellent bibliography of controversial religious literature is in R. L. Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), II, 231-70.

ology was more liberal and their organization more efficient, they soon became the dominant church on the frontier.[18] Circuit-riders brought the Methodist gospel to the remotest cabins. Itinerant ministers were common to all the sects, but only the Methodists systematized their efforts. Scores of journals, autobiographies, and historical accounts perpetuate the memory of these pioneer ministers. Stories of the founding of Methodist congregations are remarkably similar. A young preacher, scarcely distinguishable from an ordinary traveler either in dress or manner, would alight at a cabin and inquire if there were any Methodists in the neighborhood. Having located a few of the faithful, an evening service was arranged at which a local organization or "class" was formed. As the circuit-rider left the next morning he appointed a time and place for a preaching service when next he would come that way. Within a few years a thriving church with a resident pastor would develop from such a nucleus, and the circuit-rider would have moved to another frontier.

It was not until 1804 that Methodism was introduced to Cincinnati, although the Baptists and Presbyterians were already well established there. John Collins, an enthusiastic Methodist lay minister from New York, had settled on the Little Miami some miles from Cincinnati. He came to town one day to purchase salt and while doing so he asked the storekeeper if there were any Methodists in the village. "To this the storekeeper responded 'Yes, sir; I am a Methodist.' The local preacher was taken by surprise at the joyful intelligence, and, throwing his arms around his neck, he wept. He then asked him if there were any more Methodists in the place. The response to this was equally full of joyous intelligence: 'O yes, brother, there are several.' This caused the heart of the sympathetic Collins to leap for joy. 'O,' said the zealous young preacher, 'that I could have them all together, that I might

[18] The literature is extensive. W. W. Sweet's *Rise of Methodism* and *Circuit-rider Days along the Ohio* (New York, 1923) contain the Journals of the Ohio Conferences, 1800-1826. See also J. M. Barker, *History of Ohio Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1898); J. B. Finley, *Autobiography . . .* (Cincinnati, 1853); J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1855); Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography . . .* (New York, 1856); S. W. Williams, *Pictures of Early Methodism in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1909).

open to them my heart!' 'In this you shall be gratified, my brother, as I will open my house, and call together the people, if you will preach.' " Although only twelve persons heard young Collins that evening, the foundation was laid for a congregation, which five years later played host to the Western Conference.[19]

Since the settlements within Ohio followed the streams, the early Methodist circuits were laid out along their banks, from their mouths to their sources and back again on the other side of the river. The two earliest Ohio circuits were along the Miami and the Scioto, while the Mad, the Hockhocking, and the Muskingum were soon added. In the Conference of 1808 Ohio was divided into the Miami and Muskingum districts, and by this time it was necessary to add circuits along the more important tributaries, such as Wills, Deer, White Oak, and Salt creeks. But one should not assume that the circuits were greatly shortened, for James B. Finley's first assignment, the Wills Creek Circuit, was four hundred and seventy-five miles around, a route which he covered every four weeks.[20]

Itinerant ministers spent every day, one might say almost every waking hour, in the service of the church. When their circuits were well organized they met a preaching appointment each day at noon. On Saturdays there were usually two sermons and Sunday services lasted from mid-morning to nightfall. They followed almost literally the Scriptural injunction of carrying neither scrip nor purse. The annual pay of the Methodist circuit-riders, even after 1816, was only one hundred dollars a year and traveling expenses, and even that was not assured if collections were insufficient. Cartwright, after a three-year term on the frontier, returned to the home of his father with well-worn clothes, neither horse nor bridle, and with only six and a quarter cents in his pocket. His father furnished him with a horse, gave him forty dollars, and he was off for another three years of service.[21] Circuit-riders were gen-

[19] Finley, *Western Methodism,* 106.
[20] Finley, *Autobiography,* 193.
[21] Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 107.

erally unmarried and even the early bishops, who received only a circuit-rider's pay, were bachelors. There was no rule against their marriage, but those who did were usually advised to "locate" in some permanent pastorate. James Finley had a family at the time he was assigned to a circuit. He tells, without comment, that when he brought his wife and children to a newly built cabin near Rushville, he had to sell his boots in order to buy food for them.[22]

The sermons delivered by frontier preachers cannot, of course, be simply described, since they varied with the talent of the speaker and with the demands of the occasion.[23] The Methodists, especially in the earlier years, had the reputation for wild and incoherent emotionalism. While their ministers were often vigorous, and the responsiveness of the audience made their meetings noisy, certain rules of decorum were insisted upon and the preachers, in general, did not encourage extravagances. The religious frenzy which took the form of "jerks" or other "exercises" seem to have puzzled both ministers and laymen. Cartwright rejoiced when sinners were so overwhelmed that they came weeping to the mourners' bench, but he seems to have viewed frenetic dancing and jerking with half-amused tolerance. More conservative ministers deplored and were distressed by such occurrences. Revival sermons, which were directed most pointedly at sinners, revealed all the salient points of Methodist theology. Man was "conceived in sin and born in iniquity;" only the atonement of Jesus Christ could counterbalance man's innate sinfulness, and divine grace could be efficacious only if the sinner, of his own free will decided to accept it and change his way of life. Having once accepted this plan of salvation, the Christian's duty was to remain faithful, in other words to avoid backsliding, for the Methodists did not believe in the doctrine of election.

If all the books which describe the religious beliefs of these western Protestants were unavailable, it would still be possible to

[22] Finley, *Autobiography,* 194.

[23] M. P. Gaddis, *Ohio Conference Offering . . .* (Cincinnati, 1851). Three sermons by Edward Tiffin are included in this collection.

reconstruct their points of view from the words of the hymns which they sang. Congregational singing was a part of all services and a minister was as careful in selecting a hymn to fit the mood of his audience as he was in choosing the text of the sermon. The familiar phrases of favorite songs became a part of the common language, to be quoted as more cultured, but less spiritual, people drew upon the works of Horace or Shakespeare. The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists still retained their affection for the old Scotch version of the Psalms, although Watt's hymn-book, usually known as the "Hartford hymns" rapidly grew in favor in the Western Reserve.[24] Methodists, Baptists, and Christians felt free to use each others hymns. The verses of a few of these songs, some of which may still be familiar to the reader, deserve to be reproduced here. They are taken from a well-worn hymnal of the 1830's.

"There is a land of pure delight,
Where saints immortal reign;
Infinite day excludes the night,
And pleasures banish pain.

"There everlasting spring abides,
And never-with'ring flowers:
Death, like a narrow sea, divides
This heavenly land from ours."

"Am I a soldier of the cross,
A follower of the Lamb?
And shall I fear to own his cause
Or blush to speak his name?

"Must I be carried to the skies,
On flowery beds of ease;
Whilst others fought to win the prize,
And sail'd through bloody seas?

[24] Joseph Badger, *Memoir . . . Containing an Autobiography . . .* (Hudson, O., 1851), 51.

"Sure, I must fight, if I would reign;
Increase my courage, Lord;
I'll bear the toil, endure the pain,
Supported by thy word."

"Alas! and did my Savior bleed?
And did my Sovereign die?
Would he devote that sacred head
For such a worm as I?

"Was it for crimes that I have done,
He groaned upon the tree?
Amazing pity! grace unknown!
And love beyond degree!"

"How tedious and tasteless the hours,
When Jesus no longer I see;
Sweet prospects, sweet birds, and sweet flowers,
Have all lost their sweetness to me:
The midsummer sun shines but dim,
The fields strive in vain to look gay;
But when I am happy in him,
December's as pleasant as May."

"When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to every fear
And wipe my weeping eyes.

"Should earth against my soul engage,
And fiery darts be hurl'd,
Then I can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world."

Baptist ministers, in contrast with Methodist, worked and lived with the people to whom they preached.[25] The Baptists, even on the Eastern Seaboard, were prejudiced against an educated or a salaried clergy, a point of view which was retained on the frontier well into the nineteenth century. If a Baptist layman felt "called upon" to preach, he was encouraged by the local congregation to "exercise his gifts." If he convinced his neighbors of his talent they would encourage him to become a licensed preacher, which would lead ultimately to his ordination. Baptist congregations admired a preacher who could support himself but it was customary for the members of the church to help him with his farm work and to send gifts of food, sometimes called "collations," to his family. As the country became prosperous, the pastor received some money, first in fees for his services at marriages and funerals, and later in the form of a regular salary.

There were five essential points in Baptist polity.[26] These included the separation of Church and State, conversion as a condition of churchmembership, individual responsibility to God, congregational church government, and immersion as the only Scriptural form of baptism. All Baptists agreed on these five principles, but on certain matters of theology, and particularly on the question of the support of missionaries, there was much division. These schisms need not be traced here, both because of their complexity and because they affected the churches of Kentucky and other Southern States more than those of Ohio. Generally speaking, the Baptists held a position half-way between the Calvinistic belief in predestination and the Arminian doctrine of free will, which the Methodists supported. Although their government was strictly congregational, associations were formed as soon as there were four or five Baptist churches in the same region. Within these associations there was close agreement on questions of theology, since such questions as "the perseverence of the saints" and foot-washing

[25] A. H. Newman, *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States, American Church History Series,* II (New York, 1894); W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists, 1783-1830* (New York, 1931), 36.

[26] *Ibid.,* 43.

were thoroughly debated at their meetings. In the minds of those outside the church, their insistence on immersion was the distinguishing characteristic of the Baptists.

The Congregational Church came to the West with the New Englanders. Out of fifty-nine congregations founded before 1825 almost all were in the northeastern corner of the State save those at Marietta, Granville, and the Welsh settlements of Paddy's Run and Radnor.[27] A study of the history of Connecticut during the first decade of the century reveals a wide-spread opposition to Congregationalism, although it was still supported by the State.[28] This opposition was due, in part, to the inroads of such dissenting groups as the Baptists and Methodists. The bulk of the migration to Ohio was made up of the lower economic strata in Connecticut, which was most likely to have drifted away from the established church. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of Connecticut, by an act of union of 1801, joined in supporting missionaries in the Reserve. Joseph Badger, the first of these itinerants, left an interesting journal of his struggles against the almost complete indifference of the frontiersmen. They were tremendously interested, Badger said, in such trivialities as the location of a county-seat, but gave no thought at all to the salvation of their souls.

The Presbyterian Church tended to absorb the Congregationalists, both individually and as congregations. The reasons for this need not be detailed here, although one important factor was the nearness of the strongholds of Presbyterianism in western Pennsylvania. It was natural that active ministers from this area should have rapidly gained a foothold in the eastern counties. Throughout the southern part of the State, however, orthodox Presbyterian-

[27] W. S. Kennedy, *Plan of Union; or, A History of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Western Reserve* (Hudson, O., 1856). In the *Papers* of the Ohio Church History Society (Oberlin, O., 1889-1900) are a number of valuable monographs: D. L. Leonard, " 'Kentucky Revival' of 1799-1805, with Especial Reference to Its Effects upon Christianity in Ohio," V, 44ff; W. E. Barton, "Early Ecclesiastical History of the Western Reserve," I, 14ff; Benjamin Talbot, "Congregationalism in Central Ohio," V, 28ff; C. E. Dickinson, "History of Congregationalism in Ohio before 1852," VII, 31ff.

[28] R. J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818* (Washington, D. C., 1918), Ch. I-II.

ism was on the defensive. The depressing theology of Calvin did not fare well in this hotbed of evangelism. The Cumberland Presbyterians abandoned the principle of the educated ministry and liberalized their interpretation of salvation, both of which changes might well be attributed to their association with the Baptists and Methodists.[29]

A new church, growing out of the Kentucky Revival, of which Barton Stone was the leader, resulted from the withdrawal of a number of Presbyterian ministers from that church.[30] The Christian Church, commonly called the New Lights by those who opposed it, started in the Springfield Presbytery in northern Kentucky, but it gained a strong following in southern Ohio, and spread westward with the advancing frontier. David Purviance, an associate of Stone, was at one time a prominent member of the Ohio General Assembly. He did much in spreading the new gospel throughout the southern part of the State. Alexander Campbell, originally a Scotch Presbyterian, reached the same viewpoint with regard to Calvinism as Stone's, and ultimately the movements which these two men started were merged. Both men desired to abandon all creeds and to take the Bible as their sole "guide to faith and practice." Their reading of the Scriptures led them to abandon the cardinal points of Calvinism and to preach that "salvation is free." Other essentials were that baptism (immersion) should be for the "remission of sins," and that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated each Sunday, rather than quarterly, as was the custom in other denominations. They also preached that all Christians should unite, through the general abandonment of all beliefs and practises which were not Scriptural. They resembled the Methodists in their Arminianism, but, like the Baptists, they believed in immersion and in congregational government. One of the associates of Barton Stone at the time of his break with Calvinism, was Richard McNemar, who became a leader in the sect known

[29] Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier*, 75.

[30] Errett Gates, *Disciples of Christ* (New York, 1905); Errett Gates, *Relation and Separation of Baptists and Disciples* (Chicago, 1904); John Rogers, *Biography of Elder Barton Warren Stone . . .* (Cincinnati, 1847).

as the Shakers. Much has been written of this curious religious aberration, for it attracted attention entirely out of proportion to its importance.[31] Universalism was considered by ministers of other churches to be a most dangerous heresy, and from the standpoint of its contemporary importance it is deserving of much more study than it has received.

In this brief survey of the churches of early Ohio it has been possible to deal only with those which touched many people of that day. It would be interesting to describe the Quaker communities such as those of Mount Pleasant and Wilmington, the early Catholic center near Somerset, and the work of the followers of Martin Luther in the German settlements. Fortunately it is possible for those who are especially interested to learn about these groups which, although they were of much local importance, did not affect the great body of Ohio's population.

All the leading denominations agreed in their belief in man's innate depravity. Barton Stone once wrote, "That mankind is depraved, is a lamentable truth, abundantly attested by the word of God, and confirmed by universal experience and observation." [32] Two questions were asked of a candidate for an eldership in the Methodist Church at their conference in 1816: "Do you believe in the Moral depravity of mankind by nature? Do you believe that children would run into sin without bad example?" When he had answered both questions in the affirmative, he was raised to his new position.[33] Despite this depressing assumption, all save the most pessimistic Calvinists agreed that man could be redeemed from his fallen state. To accomplish this redemption was the great purpose of the evangelists.

While the Christian pilgrim had his eyes fixed on the Celestial City, and his favorite hymns had to do with "the realms of the

[31] Richard McNemar, *Kentucky Revival; or, A Short History of the Late Extraordinary Out-pouring of the Spirit of God, in the Western States of America . . .* (Cincinnati, 1807). See the extensive writings of J. P. MacLean on the Shakers, published in *O. S. A. H. Quar.* and elsewhere.

[32] Rogers, *Stone,* 191.

[33] Sweet, *Circuit-rider Days,* 143.

blessed," those who had been spiritually reborn were expected to give evidence of their conversion by changing their way of living. The emphasis which preachers gave to matters of doctrine might lead students who are cynically inclined to question if the pastors did not overlook the main principles of Christianity in their zeal to acquaint their sheep with the minute characteristics of a particular sheepfold. This was far from being true and the work of thousands of earnest Christians actually transformed the mode of living throughout the West. This is the true significance of the Great Revival.

The ministers set fine examples in Christian charity, for as a group they were remarkably self-sacrificing. The journals of the early itinerants abound in illustrations of their unselfishness. James Finley encountered a poverty-stricken widow and her half-starved family in a lonely frontier cabin. He unwrapped his own woolen leggins, although it was the dead of winter, in order that the mother might improvise a coat for her oldest boy, and then he gave her thirty-seven cents, the last money he had in the world.[34] These men had read the Scriptural injunction that a Christian, if asked for his coat, should give his cloak also, and they came close to following it. In view of their marked unselfishness, one should try to overlook their lack of charity toward preachers who taught a different set of doctrines.

In maintaining their standards of Christian conduct, the Baptists were well known for their congregational discipline. The Scriptural basis for their procedure is found in Matthew 18: 15-17. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." This Scripture was taken by the Baptists and by members of other

[34] Finley, *Autobiography*, 199.

denominations, not only as the mode for the settlement of disputes between Christians, but also as a warrant for telling a brother that his conduct in some particulars was causing offense to his fellow Christians. Old church records reveal that members were excluded for quarrelsomeness, non-attendance at church, lying, swearing, frolicking and dancing, shooting for liquor, gambling, and, most frequently, for excessive use of liquor.[35] An offending member who was excluded might be taken back into the fold by a vote of the congregation after he had made proper amends. The importance of this means of discipline is hard to measure, but in many communities it must have been a severe penalty, indeed, to be dismissed from the church.

That excessive drinking was the commonest vice of frontier society is so generally admitted that no proof needs to be offered here. Chronic drunkenness was a matter calling for church discipline in most denominations, but only the Methodists stood firmly against even the moderate use of alcohol. This was so well understood that any teetotaler was apt to be described as a fanatical Methodist. The Methodist Discipline strictly forbade the use of spirits, except when prescribed by a physician, but there was such a general disregard of the rule on the frontier that circuit-riders met with real opposition to their temperance sermons.[36] There is reason to believe that the drunken rowdies who so frequently disturbed camp-meetings were especially annoyed with the Methodists because of their temperance crusade.

Churches at times sponsored the organization of citizens' associations for the improvement of public morals. The following communication in a Chillicothe paper of January, 1812, seems to have had the backing of the Presbyterians. What grew out of the meeting cannot be discovered. Possibly the reformers were overwhelmed by the general increase in sinfulness which, according to contemporary accounts, descended on the West like a scourge during the years of the war.

[35] Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier,* 248-416 *passim.*
[36] Finley, *Autobiography,* 249ff.

"COMMUNICATION

"The public are notified, that a meeting of the Association of Chillicothe and its vicinity for surpressing vice will be held on Thursday the 9th inst. at the Presbyterian Meeting House in this town, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"The object of this Society is to endeavor to surpress vice and immorality of every kind, to encourage order and morality, and to aid civil officers in the due execution of the laws respecting vice and morality.

"At the time and place above mentioned, the friends of good order and of regular government civil and moral, are invited to attend, and associate with us without distinction of parties or politics. Articles of association for the good government of said society, will then be exhibited. The meeting will be opened with a Sermon by the Rev. R. G. Wilson, explanatory of the nature and design of the institution. . . ." [37]

Sunday-schools were organized in the larger towns shortly after the war. In 1817 a group of twelve young ladies of Zanesville formed an association for the religious instruction of the children of the community. They soon had a larger attendance than they could easily care for. A notice in a Chillicothe paper of 1818 called a meeting of all who were disposed to encourage "Sabbath School instruction," apparently without reference to their church affiliation. The "Sabbath School Association" of Columbus was in such need of additional teachers in 1824 that an appeal was made for volunteers through the medium of the *Gazette*. The Fourth of July, 1824, was celebrated in Cincinnati by a parade of Sunday-school pupils. No less than thirteen hundred and twelve participated, of whom two hundred were negro children.[38]

Church auxiliaries sponsoring such causes as home missions, temperance, and the distribution of Bibles, became rather common

[37] *Supporter,* Jan. 4, 1812. R. G. Wilson, Presbyterian minister, later became president of Ohio University.

[38] *Weekly Recorder* (Chillicothe, O.), Jan. 8, 1819; Aug. 14, 1818; Columbus *Gazette,* Aug. 26, 1824; *Liberty Hall,* July 9, 1824.

as congregations increased in size. The Female Society of Cincinnati for Charitable Purposes reported their expenditures for the year 1815 as follows: missionaries in Louisiana $20, for purchase of Bibles $59, for the Theological Seminary at Princeton $60, for tracts $5.[39] The Methodists supported a mission school at the Wyandot reservation near Upper Sandusky. This school was built on foundations laid shortly after the War of 1812 by John Stewart, a mulatto of Virginia birth who, on becoming a fervent Methodist, undertook to carry the Gospel to the aborigines. The Reverend James B. Finley, who was at the head of the mission for a number of years after 1821, wrote a fascinating account of his life there.[40] Although this work was at first supported by the Ohio Conference it became so favorably known throughout the East that special contributions were made for its maintenance.

An important factor in the spiritual growth of Ohioans was that the newspapers were generally favorable toward religion and moral improvement. A number of early editors were either ministers or deeply religious men. A great deal has been written concerning the *Philanthropist,* the weekly newspaper founded at Mount Pleasant in 1817 by Benjamin Lundy and others. While this paper is of interest because it was the first antislavery paper in Ohio, and because of Lundy's later prominence, it never attained a wide circulation. The first religious paper in Ohio was the *Weekly Recorder* published in Chillicothe beginning July, 1814, and continuing for a number of years. The editor apparently reflected the opinions of his spiritually inclined contemporaries, rather than attempted to lead public opinion.[41] He was in sympathy with home and foreign missions and gave much space to news from the fields. He was opposed to circuses, the theater, horse-racing, slavery, gambling, dancing, and sin in general. He was acutely interested in revivals and other evidence of spiritual growth, which he reported without

[39] *Ibid.,* Oct. 16, 1815.
[40] J. B. Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission, at Upper Sandusky* . . . (Cincinnati, 1840).
[41] *Weekly Recorder,* 1818-19 *passim.*

denominational prejudice. When the great controversy was raging against President Horace Holley of Transylvania, because of his Unitarianism, the editor took up his cudgels against him. Such news as he published was closely related to his other interests. If a steamboat were launched on Sunday, it was a matter for his censure. If a wicked man were cut down in the prime of life, he gave the details. In August, 1818, he printed a heartening news item:

"*House Raising without Ardent Spirits.*—A dwelling house frame of the Rev. Mr. Grant, of Hawley, Hamshire County, Mass. was lately raised, in about two hours, without the use of ardent spirits. In accordance with the good old custom of New England, the throne of grace was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Wood for a blessing in the undertaking, and afterwards the Rev. Mr. Field offered a tribute of thanksgiving to the Preserver of their lives and limbs." [42]

One can imagine with what a wry expression some survivor of the old frontier might have read this news. If the "blasted preachers" were to deprive men of "the critter" it was high time to head for the West, where men were still men. Ohio was becoming an unfriendly place for the uninhibited sons of the forest who had been her earliest settlers, unless these individualists were willing to make some concessions to the new society that had been growing up around them.

[42] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1818.

CHAPTER XIV

A Maturing Society

ONE should remember that the first generation of Ohioans, with whom this study deals, brought certain cultural patterns to their new homes, along with their pots, their plows, and their garden seed. It should not be assumed, as traveling diarists sometimes did in those days, that the pioneer's mental furnishings were necessarily as primitive as those of his crude cabin. Many of these earlier settlers, to be sure, were from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, where they had not been in contact with life's refinements and comforts, but others were from areas farther to the east and consequently possessed of a cultural leaven which in the end was sufficient for the whole lump. The emigrant's first home in the wilderness, of rough logs chinked with clay, was often superseded by a well-planned frame dwelling with architectural details from drawings by Asher Benjamin or Minard Lafever.[1] Men dressed in homespun and with muddy boots, might be found in an improvised theater critically appraising the performance of some wandering Hamlet or more probably responding enthusiastically to the latest rendering of one of Kotzebue's romantic comedies. The daily fare in a frontier cabin often consisted of salt pork and cornbread, and yet it could be eaten to the accompaniment of a discussion of the efficacy of baptism in washing away original sin. A country lawyer, dressed in rusty broadcloth, with his feet cocked up on a makeshift desk, might be reading in a crudely furnished

[1] I. T. Frary, *Early Homes of Ohio* (Richmond, Va., 1936). This excellent study tends to slight the houses of the Scioto Valley. Through the kindness of Dr. F. J. Roos, Jr., of Ohio State University a number of examples of early Ohio architecture are illustrated in this work. Neither space nor the competence of the writer permits a discussion of this important subject.



34. TAFT HOUSE, CINCINNATI
Built for Martin Baum, in the 1820's. Courtesy of Frank J. Roos, Jr.

office, but the book could be *Tristram Shandy* or even Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.[2]

Daniel Drake, who in his own day was sometimes called "The Franklin of the West," made a great effort at objectivity in his *Picture of Cincinnati,* but when he put the phrase "State of Society" at the head of a page of his manuscript, he was nonplused, for he found himself confronted with a multitude of confusing impressions. He had no time to waste in moody cogitation, for at any time a patient, probably an indigent neighbor, might rap at the office door, so he glanced at his title "State of Society," and confessed his feeling of uncertainty: "This cannot, of course, be pourtrayed [*sic*] with the same facility and exactness as in older communities. The people of the Miami country, may in part be characterised, as industrious, frugal, temperate, patriotic, and reli-

[2] Thomas Ewing, "Autobiography," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* XII, 174.



35. TAFT HOUSE PORTICO
Courtesy of Frank J. Roos, Jr.

gious; with as much intelligence and more enterprise, than the families from which they were detached." So much for the people of the Miami country, but what of his own town of Cincinnati?

"In Cincinnati the population is more compounded, and the constant addition of emigrants from numerous countries, in varying proportions, must for many years render nugatory all attempts at faithful portraiture. There is no state in the Union which has not enriched our town with some of its more enterprising or restless citizens; not a kingdom of the west of Europe whose adventurous or desperate exiles are not commingled with us. . . . Among such a variety, but few points of coincidence are to be expected." [3]

Any attempt made by an Ohioan to describe the society in which he lived would be "rendered nugatory," as in the case of Drake, by the pervading sense of rapid change. He saw his own village, not as it actually looked, but rather as the marvel which he and his neighbors had created in the heart of the great forest. He could tell you with great precision what had been accomplished in the past ten years, or become eloquent and even poetic in describing what the future held in store, for certainly these frontiersmen were not perishing for the lack of a vision. As the memory of their old homes in the East faded from their minds, the only perspective left to them was based on the West as they first saw it. Possibly their optimistic outlook was as well founded as the superficial and sometimes supercilious judgments passed by "cultivated gentlemen" from the East. Trumbull County, for example, had a far different appearance to its leading citizen, Judge George Tod, than it did in retrospect to a Massachusetts friend who had paid him a visit:

"Friend Tod

"Farewell! I shall not return again to your country. 'And must I thus leave thee, Paridise.' Alas! I must. Adieu! ye endless forests hung with eternal gloom, the proper haunts of Indians, bears & wolves. Adieu! ye roads of mud, ye paths which never end, where horses mire and starve. Adieu! ye plains & meads, where shrub oaks thrive & horrid serpents dwell. Adieu! ye purling streams, with filth and ague stored; and thou O whiskey too, thou jolly

[3] Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 166-7.

guest in all our scenes of mirth & joy, whose charms, for me, are now, alas! no more.' Farewell." [4]

In contrast with this mock heroic are the lines patterned after Sir Walter Scott which the editor of *Liberty Hall* prepared for the citizens of Cincinnati in tribute to the new year of 1816:

> "... But all too long the lay has rung,
> The wild wood of the West among,
> Without presenting to the view
> The claims of CINCINNATI too.
> Tho' far removed from Ocean's roar,
> Here Commerce her rich offerings pour;
> And Taste, and Literary Zeal,
> In vain their infant march conceal.
> Here sense, and worth, and modesty,
> Endear the charms of Beauty's eye,
> Whose all-inspiring glances dart
> Through many a *Beau's* devoted heart.
> Here on our wide and even plain
> Traces of *olden times* remain,
> In many a consecrated mound,
> Where long-forgotten bones are found.
> And here, ere long, our Town shall rise,
> With turrets sparkling to the skies;
> And shine, in backwoods splendor drest,
> THE GREAT EMPORIUM OF THE WEST." [5]

It is not unfair to remark that the endless forests were cleared, the muddy roads became turnpikes, and Cincinnati became the "Emporium of the West."

In 1800 the population of Ohio, including the Detroit settlements, was 42,161, which meant that, on the average, there was

[4] J. B. Gorham to George Tod, Charlestown, Mass., June 27, 1804, Tod MSS.
[5] Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and ... Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1816.

one inhabitant to the square mile.[6] In 1810, the number had increased to 230,760, and the average per square mile was almost six. In 1820, the count was 581,295, which placed Ohio fifth among the states of the Union, whereas in 1810 she had ranked thirteenth. The average per square mile was now above fourteen. These figures are no more interesting than any other statistics, unless one conceives them as symbols of one of the great mass movements of the American people, or more specifically, as part of the process whereby villages became thriving towns, or, most important, the coming of a host of neighbors to relieve the oppressive loneliness which the first settlers had endured. A study of the statistics by counties showed a marked concentration of population in two areas, one in the immediate vicinity of Cincinnati, the other on the eastern boundary, in the Steubenville neighborhood. The cluster of five southwestern counties, Hamilton, Butler, Warren, Montgomery, and Clermont, had a total of 103,000 inhabitants. In the eastern group, Columbiana, Belmont, Jefferson, Trumbull, and Harrison, contained 90,000. One third of the population of the State lived in these ten counties. If two parallel lines are drawn diagonally across the State connecting these two blocks of counties, a quadrilateral is formed which would enclose all but a small fraction of the State's population as it was distributed in 1820. Such a quadrilateral would exclude the southeastern river counties which were thinly populated except for the settlements in the Muskingum Valley. If the rapidly developing Western Reserve is excluded from the area to the north of the figure which we have drawn, the northwest quarter of the State is blocked off, which reported fewer than 7,000 people in a total of eleven counties.

If one may trust the Census of 1820, all but 35,000 of Ohio's 581,295 inhabitants lived on farms or in villages of less than 100 souls. Forty-eight villages and towns of more than 100 are listed, of which eight were larger than 1,000 and another eight between 500 and 1,000. The remaining thirty-two were villages of between

[6] Marion Johnston Trew, "Study of the Growth of the Population of Ohio from 1790 to 1850," 1932, MS. (in Miami University Library, Oxford, O.), M. A. thesis.

100 and 500. Only Cincinnati, with a population of 9,642 might properly be called a city, unless one wished to dignify Steubenville and Chillicothe, which ranked second and third with 2,539 and 2,426 respectively. Next in order came Zanesville, Springfield, Columbus, Lebanon, and Dayton. Cleveland had a population of only 606 in 1820; Akron was not founded until 1825, and Toledo dates from the early 1830's.

In the course of this study frequent allusions have been made to provincialism within Ohio based on the differences in origin of the people who made up her population. The Virginians and the New Englanders, for example, did not see eye to eye on political questions. The Pennsylvanians were less coherent, but the eastern border counties comprised a distinct province because of their dominance. Politics, religion, and even farming methods, reflected certain imported prejudices or traditions.[7] While one need not question the importance of this provincialism, it can be easily overemphasized, for no permanent barriers existed to the creation of a homogeneous state. Yet Ohioans of that day laid great stress on their differences. Scarcely a meeting of the General Assembly was held in which some member did not compile statistics regarding the nativity of the legislators. In 1822 it was found, as usual, that the Pennsylvanians were in the lead, with 27 members in the two houses. Virginia was second with 18, Connecticut accounted for 13, Maryland 11, New Jersey 7, Massachusetts 6, New York 4, Vermont and New Hampshire 3 each, Kentucky 2, and the Carolinas one each.[8] In this session no less than six claimed Ireland as their native country, but one should note that the phrase "Scotch-Irish" was not then in common use. These figures have little significance in themselves, but the ratios shown are fairly constant in such reports as have been seen. In 1824 a certain Leander Munsell, representing Miami County, acquired notoriety as the first native-born Ohioan to take a seat in the assembly.[9]

[7] J. M. Espy, *Memorandum of a Tour . . .* (Cincinnati, 1870), 22-3.
[8] Warren (Ohio) *Western Reserve Chronicle,* Jan. 12, 1822.
[9] Lisbon *Ohio Patriot,* Jan. 24, 1824.

There were within the State, however, certain elements which could not be immediately absorbed into the body of the population. Although statistics are lacking it is clear that the Germans were the most numerous of the foreign-language groups.[10] Germans were found in almost every county even in the first decade of statehood, but as they came in larger numbers, settlements were formed which preserved their identity for more than a generation. Some emigrants directly from Germany were found among these people, but the greater part were from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. It was natural that the eastern counties should have received the larger proportions of these migrants, but the Lancaster region of Fairfield and Perry counties also had a large share. They were to be found in numbers throughout the Miami country, although Cincinnati's German population was not large until after the 1830's. Martin Baum and David Ziegler, among the most prominent of Cincinnati's early citizens, encouraged the migration of capable Germans to their city.

A study of the activity of early Lutheran ministers furnishes much information with regard to Ohio Germans.[11] The Reverend Paul Henkel was sent to the settlements in southern Ohio in 1806 to make a survey of religious conditions among the German-speaking people. His tour was not encouraging because the Germans were widely scattered and he found many who were abandoning their mother-tongue. He preached to several groups who knew of his coming, baptized ninety-six children, and compiled a list of names of several hundred German families in Highland, Warren, and Montgomery counties. Henkel did not limit his work in Ohio to this one trip but continued until his death in 1825 to exert great influence among the Germans of the southern counties. Another outstanding Lutheran pioneer was the Reverend William George Forster, who was active in establishing congregations in the Lan-

[10] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati und Leipzig, 1847), 328-33; Anton Eickhoff, *In der Neuen Heimat . . .* (New York, 1885), 268-88.

[11] Paul Henkel, "Journal," ed. by C. L. Martzolff, *O. S. A. H. Quar,* XXIII (1914), 162-218; B. F. Prince, "Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," *ibid.,* 268-83.

caster region. Among the German migrants were members of the various sects of Anabaptists. Adlard Welby, who traveled across Ohio in 1819, encountered such a group near Lancaster: "Several people clothed something like Jews with long beards have passed us at different times on horseback; these, I was told, are a christian sect of charitable pilgrims styling themselves Dunkards."

Early travelers, who so frequently followed Zane's Trace, invariably commented on the dominance of Germans in Lancaster.[12] These people were largely from Pennsylvania, as the name which they gave to their settlement indicates. The signs on stores and public buildings were commonly in both English and German. The number of people who could read German led Jacob Dietrich to establish a German newspaper, *Der Adler,* in 1809. The most important German editor in Ohio was William D. Lepper, of New Lisbon in Columbiana County. His paper, founded in 1808, called *Der Patriot am Ohio,* became the *Ohio Patriot* in 1809, after he found that the demand for a German paper was not large enough to assure success. The *Ohio Patriot,* one of the most widely read of the eastern Ohio papers, was continued under Lepper's able editorship until after 1820, and a paper with that name survived for more than a century. *Der Adler* was the antecedent of the Lancaster *Eagle.*[13] The General Assembly took cognizance of the growing German population in 1817, by authorizing the printing of the Constitution and Laws of Ohio in their language. The distribution of the work among the counties was in proportion to the size of the German colonies. The largest number of copies were apportioned to Fairfield and Trumbull, with Hamilton and Pickaway next in order, followed by the "backbone counties" of Columbiana, Stark, Richland, and Knox.[14] On the basis of other evidence, this distribution seems to have been made with an accurate knowledge of the German concentrations.

[12] John Cotton, "From Rhode Island to Ohio in 1815," *Journal of American History* (New York), XVI (1922), 252.
[13] O. C. Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism* (Columbus, O., 1933), 29.
[14] Act of Jan. 27, 1817; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Supporter,* Sept. 30, 1817.

The Welsh, like the Germans, tended to settle as colonies.[15] Although they were never a large element in the population, they clung to their language and traditions, and as a consequence their influence is still felt in the areas where they first established themselves. Almost all of the Welsh who settled in Ohio prior to 1825 came from a single county in Pennsylvania. This was Cambria, about eighty miles east of Pittsburgh, where the towns of Beulah and Ebensburg gave promise of becoming flourishing Welsh communities, until they were isolated by a change in the route of travel between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The Ohio settlements in the "Welsh Hills" of Licking County and Paddy's Run, in Butler County, some twenty miles from Cincinnati, were established by migrants from Beulah. Other important Welsh outposts were at Radnor, in Delaware County, at Gomer, in Allen County, and at several points in Jackson and Gallia counties. The Welsh language persisted to the third generation in these communities, for the churches, which were usually Congregational, conducted services in the mother-tongue, and the old songs were handed down from father to son. The Welsh were equally well known for their thrift and for their interest in religion and education. The trades, which many of them had learned in Wales, made them especially useful additions to the frontier communities.

Aside from the German and Welsh settlements there were, prior to 1825, no noteworthy colonies of foreign-language groups, unless one wishes to mention the decadent French colony at Gallipolis or the descendants of the French trappers who were scattered along the western shores of Lake Erie.[16] The total Indian population was probably less than three thousand in 1820 and these were isolated in the northwestern section of the State. The negro population increased quite rapidly in the period 1800–1830.[17] In 1800 there were 337 colored people in Ohio, by 1810 they had increased to 1,890,

[15] W. H. Jones, "Welsh Settlements in Ohio," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XVI (1907), 194-227.

[16] Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour . . .*, in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), IV, 149; Robert Yost, "His Book," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXIII, 157.

[17] F. U. Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio* (Ann Arbor, 1913), 21-34.

in 1820 there were 4,723, and in 1830 they numbered 9,586. While these figures are explained in part as a natural increase, the numbers were augmented by manumitted slaves and by a smaller number of fugitives from across the Ohio River. The colored population was largely concentrated in the counties along the Ohio and in the Scioto Valley, where they were subjected to the usual discriminations, save possibly in the Quaker settlements.

If Daniel Drake, in 1815, despaired of finding "points of coincidence" in the mixed population of Cincinnati, it would be folly to generalize about the people of the whole State. Kentuckians frequently referred to Ohio as "the Yankee State," which was not complimentary, as Timothy Flint took the pains to show: "Though this is in some sense a Yankee region, and Ohio is called, on the opposite shore, the Yankee state, you do not the less hear at all these towns, and everywhere in this state, fine stories about Yankee tricks, and Yankee finesse, and wooden nutmegs, and pit-coal indigo, and gin made by putting pine-tops in the whiskey. The poor Irish have not had more stories invented and put in their mouths. . . . "[18] Obviously, Ohioans would not relish being called "the Yankees of the West" when the word carried such a connotation.

In searching for the proper phrases to describe "the Ohioan," the accounts of travelers afford but little aid. They were in search of the bizarre and generalized from incidents which may well have been unique. Zadoc Cramer, the author of *The Navigator,* became irritated at the careless statements which he saw in print: "It is observable," he wrote, "that European travellers frequently misrepresent us by giving for a *general* character, that which is *particular;* hence they mislead their readers into the most monstrous blunders as respects the true features of our national character. . . . How much more would the public be benefitted by the remarks of travellers on the manners and customs of countries would they divest themselves of their prejudices, passions, and partialities, and confine themselves to the relation of simple truths.

[18] Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years . . .* (Boston, 1826), 32, 44.

Methinks a traveller who intends to publish his travels, ought to be a *philosopher,* in the true sense of the word."[19]

Among the scores of travelers who left accounts of the early West, few indeed could be described as philosophers.[20] Timothy Flint, the Scotchman, most nearly measured up to the standards which Alexis de Tocqueville and James Bryce established later. He was more interested in the study of American institutions, particularly the economic problems of the West, than in the foibles of American society. "Matters of public notoriety always attract attention, while the more gratifying affairs of private life, as the most pleasant family scenes, the strictest integrity, and even acts of the most disinterested generosity, are, from their more frequent occurrence, omitted as less interesting. Hence it is, that the stories of travellers, however authentic they may be, and however amusing to their readers, are often more calculated to promote prejudices than to convey accurate information regarding society and morals. It is the energy and the tendency of public institutions that form the best index to national character." He wrote a dramatic account of a camp-meeting, but he saw the religious values behind the extravagances which he witnessed. He was aware of the lack of education on the frontier, but he pointed out to his English readers that the public land system had made provision for the support of schools, and that the control of education was not in the hands of the clergy. He saw the faults of the legislative system, and was distressed at the way in which paper banks were permitted to bankrupt the people, but on the other hand he was deeply impressed with the spirit of social equality which pervaded American society. He was always interested in the small group of refined and cultured people who were seeking to establish a civilization in the wilderness.

In contrast with the calm objectivity of Flint are the writings of such jaundiced observers as William Faux, who in spite of his avowed intention to "shew Men and Things as they are in

[19] Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour,* 138n.

[20] For a critical bibliography, see D. A. Dondore, *The Prairie in the Making of Middle America* . . . (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1926); Allen Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York, 1931).

America" wrote an account which estranged even his English readers by his brutal frankness. While his general impressions are of slight value, he occasionally wrote with striking realism and apparent fidelity. One such passage, descriptive of a court scene in Zanesville, came back to that town, where it was reprinted, and subsequently it was widely copied in Ohio. While staying at a local tavern he became acquainted with William Wilson, one of the traveling judges of the court of common pleas. He was well impressed with the judge and made a point of attending a session of the court over which he presided. One may imagine the reflections of the lawyers as they read the passage: "At noon, I roamed into the supreme court, where I saw my new friend, the supreme judge, Wilson, on the bench, in the midst of three rustic, dirty-looking associate judges, all robeless, and dressed in coarse drab, domestic, homespun coats, dark silk handkerchiefs round their necks, and otherwise not superior in outward appearance to our low fen-farmers in England. Thus they sat, presiding with ease and ability over a bar of plain talkative lawyers, all robeless, very funny and conversational in their speeches, manners, and conduct; dressed in plain box-coats, and sitting with their feet and knees higher than their noses, and pointing obliquely to the bench of judges; thus making their speeches, and examining and cross examining evidence at a plain long table, with a brown earthen jug of cold water before them, for occasionally wetting their whistles, and washing their quid-stained lips: all, judges, jury, counsel, witness, and prisoners, seemed free, easy, and happy. The supreme judge is only distinguished from the rest by a shabby blue threadbare coat, dirty trousers, and unblacked shoes. Thus sat all their lordships, freely and frequently chewing tobacco, and appearing as uninterested as could be. Judge Wilson is, however, a smart intelligent man, and, I think, kind-hearted."[21]

To an English traveler the drab homespun clothing of the

[21] William Faux, *Memorable Days in America . . .* (London, 1823), in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* XI, 175. This passage appeared in the Zanesville (Ohio) *Republican* and was reprinted in the *Ohio Patriot,* Mar. 16, 1824.

judges and the lawyers was a matter for comment because he was thinking of the robed and bewigged justices of his homeland. Travelers were often observant of variations in dress, although it was not until the coming of Mrs. Trollope and Harriet Martineau that western apparel received an expert appraisal. Had William Faux wished to spend the time in doing so, he could have described the even rougher garb in which the court-house loafers were dressed. Racoon caps, with the fur outside, jackets and pantaloons of deer skin, were common wearing apparel, even after the War of 1812. Trousers of deer skin presented some unusual problems, as any frontiersman could have testified. The leather was prepared for tailoring by the simple process of removing the hair, then scraping to remove excess fat, and finally working the skin in a solution of hot water mixed with deer brains. Before using, the hide was scoured and smoked in a chimney or hollow tree. The sewing was usually done with sinews, and the taste of the wearer, or want of it, if you like, was judged by the length of fringe left at the seams. One difficulty about this poorly tanned leather was that it became almost inflexible when it dried after being rain soaked. One old pioneer recalled that these stiff trousers "when thrown upon the floor bounded and rattled like tin kettles. A man on a cold winters morning, drawing on a pair, was in about as comfortable a position



MR. SMITH,

The Celebrated American Dwarf.

AT his apartments in Broadway, adjoining Mr John H Piatt's store, does him self the honor of informing the ladies and gentlemen of Cincinnati that he shall be happy to receive their visits at any time from nine in the morning until seven in the evening—hours of dining excepted.

The flattering proofs of attention which have been conferred upon him by the highest characters, as well as citizens generally of this state, call forth his grateful sentiments, and confidently inspires the hope, that he will be enabled to afford no less gratification to all whose curiosity may be excited from laudable physosophic enquiries, or the lighter speculations of the inquisitive.

Families may have an hour assigned to them if notice shall be given previously.

Cincinnati, July 7, 1818. 23

36. THE CELEBRATED DWARF
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* July 7, 1818.

as if thrusting his limbs into a couple of frosty stove pipes." [22] If laundering were ever considered necessary, the leather could be reworked in a kettle of hot water and deer brains, then hung in the chimney to be smoked over night.

It might not occur to the reader that the best idea of the appearance of the lower class, if there were such on the frontier, could be obtained from the advertisement of runaway apprentices and other fugitives. One can almost see Cornelius Sly, an escaped prisoner, who had "a very swaggering carriage, and oft wears his hat on the side of his head." A traveler on a road near Chillicothe in March, 1811, might have encountered Israel Abrems. If he were dressed in "a white hat, a brown surtout coat, a blue cloth waistcoat with metal buttons, and a striped pair of cotton pantaloons," one might have been sure of his identity, and have claimed the one cent reward offered by a Chillicothe printer for his return. He took away with him "a white cord waistcoat, a black pair of velvet pantaloons, woolen socks of various colors, together with a pair of Jefferson shoes," but these were doubtless his Sunday wardrobe. Another fugitive apprentice wore "a fur hat, deep blue coat, swansdown vest and black pantaloons; he also took with him a pair of green baize pantaloons." [23]

The wardrobe of a refined gentleman in public life may be deduced from the list of the contents of a trunk which Thomas Worthington left with his landlord in Washington, when he returned to Ohio during a recess of the Senate in 1804. The senator wrote hurriedly: "3 shirts, 5 cravats, 2 night caps, 2 pocket hdkfs, 2 flannel undervests, 1 Blue Cloth Coat, 2 black breeches, 1 light casemere pantaloons, 2 pr. silk stockings, 1 pr. worsted do., 2 cotton do., 1 linen do., 1 pr. green stockings, 1 swansdown vest, 2 Marsailles do., 1 cloth surtout coat, 1 pr. boots, 1 pr. shoes." [24] Worthington

[22] C. B. Squier, in Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1847), 151; M. J. Carrigan, *Life and Reminiscences of Hon. James Emmit* (Chillicothe, O., 1888), 36-8; Felix Renick, in *American Pioneer* (Chillicothe, O.), I, no. 8 (Aug., 1842), 274.

[23] *Liberty Hall,* Mar. 3, 1806; *Supporter,* Mar. 30, 1811; Jan. 14, 1817.

[24] Diary of 1804, Memorandum undated.

does not mention a wig, and doubtless he did not wear one, for he was a democrat, in spite of his black breeches and silk hose.

The Worthington Manufacturing Company, whose activities have been noticed elsewhere, had an employee with a literary gift. On more than one occasion he gave a delightful touch to the firm's advertising.

"New Goods From All Nations
"The surplus stores from every foreign clime
Are sought with care, and hither brought,
To guard that Beauty which is based on Health,
And decorate the fair.
"The Worthington Manufacturing Company have just received, and now offer for sale at their store No. 5 High Street, Columbus
"A Quantum Sufficit
Of cheap and seasonable
Goods
" 'Let your dress be costly as your purse will afford,
Rich but not gaudy.' Shakespeare.
"COLUMBUS April 2, 1818."[25]

It always came as a surprise to sophisticated visitors from the East to discover that many women on the frontier were dressed in excellent taste. Even the sober-minded Timothy Flint was constrained to make a note after he had traversed the northeastern part of the State in 1818: "In the last hundred and fifty miles which I have travelled, I met with few travellers, but several of these were well dressed and polite men. I have also seen some elegant ladies by the way. Indeed, I have often seen among the inhabitants of the log-houses of America females with dresses composed of the muslins of Britain, the silks of India, and the crapes of China." There was, unfortunately, the usual desire to keep up with the current fashions, one of which, in this period, was the use of corsets. Here is the lugubrious evidence: "Scarcely a month passes over, without

[25] Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* May 14, 1818.

wafting to us the news of some tight-laced damsel who was constrained to faint; or some hopeless votary who has untimely expired, at the shrine of the infernal Demon of Corsets."[26]

This brief allusion to the clothing with which the women of frontier Ohio adorned themselves must be closed, inappropriately, with another tragic news item:

"LOST!

"Between Worthington and Sunbury, a cotton cross-barred handkerchief, in which was tied up the following articles, viz:

"One black cambric gown,
"One dove colored, white and black gown,
"One green calico gown,
"One white muslin petticoat,
"One large leno shawl,
"Two pocket handkerchiefs,
"One pair of scissors, and several other articles.

"Whoever finds the above and will deliver the same to Ezekiel Brown, esq. in Sunbury, John Patterson in Berkshire, or to the Printing Office in Worthington, shall be generously rewarded.

"DANIEL M. BROWN.

"Washington, Sept. 9, 1813."[27]

One can easily imagine the unhappiness which the loss of so large a part of one's wardrobe must have brought to Mary or Ruth, or whatever her name may have been. Perhaps she was on her way to visit her cousin in Sunbury, the precious bundle tied behind the saddle. When she arrived it was missing, and although one of the men quickly retraced the road to Worthington, it was nowhere to be found. Matters such as these have more to do with romance than with history.

The pleasure of "going a-visiting" was one of the many unorganized diversions of frontier life. Enough has already been said

[26] Quoted by C. T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 467.

[27] Worthington (Ohio) *Western Intelligencer*, Sept. 15, 1813.

of the log-rollings, the husking bees, the quilting parties, and similar schemes for pooling labor under a pleasant disguise, but the reader may not be so familiar with the "play-parties" which the young folks planned for their own entertainment. Drake, in writing of life in Cincinnati in 1815, spoke of the "select-parties" which were common throughout the winter months, "at which the current amusements are social converse, singing and recitation—the latter having been lately prominent. Juvenile plays and diversions are sometimes resorted to; which are generally such as to promote a rational exercise of the mental faculties." [28] The doctor must have grinned slyly as he wrote the last phrase, for he must have had in mind such games as "blindman's buff," "button," "love and murder," or "I am sick of my partner," which were scarcely "rational" exercises, however much they may have improved one's social grace. The kindly doctor was not disposed to condemn what he recognized as a perfectly normal and pleasant way for young people to pass the time in one another's company. A kill-joy who signed his letter "Johnson," did not mince words in describing such play-parties as "an extensive perversion of taste." "Can it be possible," he asked in *Liberty Hall,* "that the mere circumstance of tumbling a lady


TO THE CURIOUS.

THE AFRICAN LION

WILL be exhibited at Col. J. Kilbourns in Worthington on Friday and Saturday next; and at Delaware at Maj Paul D. Butlers on Monday and Tuesday following —— He is the largest in America, and the only one of his kind. Hours of exhibition from nine o'clock in the morning until five in the evening.

No apprehension of danger need be entertained, as he is secured in a substantial iron cage.

Tickets may be had at the principal Taverns and at the door.

Admittance 25 Cents—Children half price.

April 6, 1819.

37. THE AFRICAN LION
From Columbus (Ohio) *Gazette,* Apr. 8, 1819.

[28] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 168.

or gentleman on the floor, compelling them to kneel and kiss each other's hand, or grope blindfold round a room, catching and guessing, should convey to an intelligent collection, that instructive amusement which might be obtained by a mutual exchange of ideas, or attentive hearing of the lines of Pope, Scott, or Campbell?"[29] There is no indication that his rhetorical question was answered, the younger set doubtless realizing that he was too old to understand.

Play-parties were frowned upon in certain quarters as a waste of time, but dancing was condemned as positively sinful, and yet it was one of the commonest pastimes on the frontier. In the backwoods communities the rafters rang to traditional square-dance tunes such as "Sister Phoebe," "Marching to Quebec," "As Oats, Peas, Beans, and Barley Grow." "Philander, Let's Be Marching," and "Fire in the Mountain, Run, Boys, Run." The fiddler "called the numbers," at each change of the figure, whether it was the "scamper down," "western wing," or the "half-moon," and as the young bucks stamped their feet, the puncheon floors gave up their dust.[30] In contrast with these country dances, which certainly were not light, even if they might have been fantastic, were the dances of the cotillion clubs in such centers as Chillicothe and Cincinnati. Monsieur Ratel, whose contributions to the musical life of Cincinnati will be mentioned later, conducted a dancing academy as early as 1817, where he guided untutored feet through the mazes of the allemande, hornpipe, waltz, and the "minuet de la Cour, with its gavotte."[31] "Monstrous refinement, to be sure," a pioneer grandmother might have remarked. The Cincinnati Cotillion Club held as many as eight dances in a season, which, according to one critic must have cost the seventy couples a total of more than five thousand dollars, and this in 1819. Young people would dance even if every bank in the State was on the brink of ruin.[32]

[29] *Liberty Hall,* Jan. 13, 1817.
[30] J. G. Butler, Jr., *History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley* (Chicago and New York, 1921), I, 132.
[31] *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 24, 1819.
[32] *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1816; Nov. 26, 1819.

The doleful "Johnson," self-appointed guardian of Cincinnati morals, did not like dancing: " 'Tis now mid-winter, but no sooner is a cotillion or a private party announced than,

'Roused at the sound, the fair with glad amaze,'

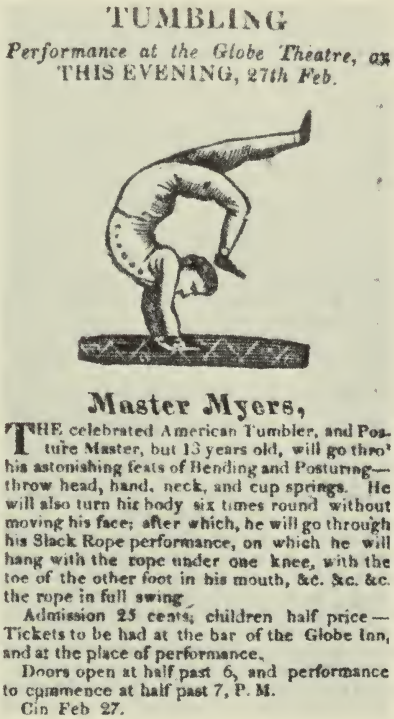
hasten to the dressing room and forthwith, for fashions sake alone, exchange the flannel petticoat and bombazine dress for the cambric dimity and jaconet muslin; the worsted stockings give way to the more soft & beautiful silk or cotton hose; and the warm corksoaled shoes are left in place of the white elastic slipper. . . ."[33] Which proves that the writer was nothing, if not perspicacious. The moral which he pointed, in this case, was that with such concessions to fashion, the young ladies would catch their deaths of cold.

Dancing was opposed, more or less vigorously, by all ministers and faithful churchmembers. The Methodists were most outspoken in their condemnation and Peter Cartwright's favorite stories had to do with his successful interruption of a country dance. The editor of the *Weekly Recorder,* whose leadership in all causes of moral improvement has already been noted, regarded dancing with intense aversion. In almost every issue he published a news item concerning the untimely death of a flagrant sinner, but none involved a dancer until early in 1819, when a letter came to his office from Darby Creek in Franklin County, giving the sad story of a young lady who was suddenly struck down while leading a merry dance on Christmas night. The letter was contributed by an enemy of "that vain and heathenish practice" of dancing. The following month a letter was received from another correspondent on Darby Creek, giving a circumstantial account. The young lady had ridden some six or seven miles to attend the dance, clad in a light, thin dress. On the dance floor she was "foremost in the frolic In the midst of her career, she fainted and fell, apparently struck with death; but (glory to the Judge of the universe) time was given for her repentance. She was moved to another room and shortly recovered so as to wish to resume the sport. . . . The next day she was removed to her father's house with difficulty, and died

[33] *Ibid.,* Jan. 6, 1817.

on Tuesday evening following. I am acquainted with her father; but have not seen him since, and cannot find that she manifested sorrow of heart for her past life." [34] A present-day physician, in his dull way, would suggest that a serious cardiac impairment, rather than the hand of Judgment, was the cause of this tragedy.

Because of its long association with the dance, the violin was for many years regarded by pious people as the Devil's instrument. And yet the "fiddle," as it was invariably called, was the commonest instrument on all the successive American frontiers. Easily second in popularity was the flute, which during the first half of the century had a tremendous vogue throughout both Europe and America. Their portability was in part responsible for the early appearance of these instruments on the frontier, while another reason was that, with a moderate degree of effort, a recognizable tune could be played on either by a person with a musical bent. They were also well adapted to the rapid jigs and reels which were so popular with the country dancers. Woodwinds were much more commonly found on the frontier than were brass instruments, although the "keyed bugle" made an early appearance. One of the first bands to which reference has been found was that organized in Granville. It consisted of clarinets, oboes, a bassoon, and a bass drum. This small group of musicians accompa-


TUMBLING

Performance at the Globe Theatre, as THIS EVENING, *27th Feb.*

Master Myers,

THE celebrated American Tumbler, and Posture Master, but 13 years old, will go thro' his astonishing feats of Bending and Posturing—throw head, hand, neck, and cup springs. He will also turn his body six times round without moving his face; after which, he will go through his Slack Rope performance, on which he will hang with the rope under one knee, with the toe of the other foot in his mouth, &c. &c. &c. the rope in full swing.

Admission 25 cents; children half price—Tickets to be had at the bar of the Globe Inn, and at the place of performance.

Doors open at half past 6, and performance to commence at half past 7, P. M.

Cin Feb 27.

38. THE TUMBLER

From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Feb. 27, 1824.

[34] *Weekly Recorder* (Chillicothe, O.), Feb. 5, Mar. 5, 1819.

nied General William Hull on the ill-fated expedition to Detroit.[35]

Among the early travelers, Fortescue Cuming was one of the few who expressed an interest in music. While taking shelter from the rain in the shop of an Irish cobbler near Chillicothe, he found himself in the presence of "a dozen stout young fellows who had been working repairing the road, and were now sheltering themselves from the increasing storm, and listening to some indifferent musick made by their host on a tolerably good violin. I proposed taking the violin while he repaired my shoes. He consented and sat down to the work, and in a few minutes I had all the lads jigging it on the floor merrily." [36] On another occasion he mentions playing on a crude violin which the owner had made. That violin-makers found their way to the West is attested by an advertisement placed in a Zanesville paper by the jailer of Guernsey County. The fellow whose name was Mathew White, was a rascal and had broken out of the Cambridge jail. "He has lost one of his fore teeth," the jailer wrote," by gnawing the bars of the iron grates, which makes him very remarkable—a fiddle maker by trade—had on an old green coat, very much torn—blue linsey overalls. He is a drunken sot. . . ." [37]

The first pianos in Ohio were probably imported from England by way of New Orleans, although a local piano-maker was established in Cincinnati before 1820. A pioneer of Steubenville had a vivid remembrance of the first piano brought to that town. It belonged to the family of Thomas Cole, who later was a prominent figure in the "Hudson River School" of landscape painters. "It was such a wonderful thing to hear a piano that each evening the listening crowd would fill the street from curb to curb and as far up and down the streets as the sweet strains could be heard." [38]

[35] Henry Bushnell, *History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio* (Columbus, O., 1889), 98.
[36] Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour,* 210.
[37] Zanesville (Ohio) *Muskingum Messenger,* Feb. 4, 1818.
[38] *Liberty Hall,* Nov. 24, 1818; W. H. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson County," *O. S. A. H. Quar.,* VI, 295.

That Ohioans were more than eager to improve their musical capacities could be proved by scores of advertisements of musical instruments, of vocal and instrumental music, of singing schools, and finally by notices of concerts given in the larger cities by amateur groups. Although Columbus boasted of a Handel Society in the early 1820's,[39] Cincinnati was the most active musical center in the State. Instruments were advertised in local shops, even before 1820, which would have given the proper balance to a symphony orchestra.[40] Nor were teachers lacking, especially after the arrival of M. and Mde. Ratel, in July, 1817. The Ratels, evidently French émigrés, had left Philadelphia for the West, with the intention of settling in Nashville, but on reaching Cincinnati they were impressed with the opportunities which that city offered and determined to make it their home. They shortly announced that they would "devote their time and talents to the instruction of the Gentlemen and Ladies of this place who may desire to perfect themselves in the science of music."[41] M. Ratel gave lessons on the clarinet, flute, bassoon, flageolet, violin, and piano. Mde. Ratel "whose talents upon the PIANO have been applauded at Philadelphia and wherever else she has taught, will instruct Ladies upon this instrument." From subsequent news items there is ample reason to believe that these cultural missionaries did much to lay the foundation for Cincinnati's musical leadership.

The most active group of amateurs in Cincinnati was the Haydn Society, which as early as May, 1819, gave concerts of sacred music which included choruses from the oratorios of Handel and Haydn. On a later occasion that same year, in connection with one of their concerts, an orchestra played a symphony which M. Ratel had composed and dedicated to the society.[42] The reader may be interested in seeing the program given by this ambitious group on December 19, 1822:

[39] Columbus *Gazette,* June 20, 1822.

[40] For example, *Liberty Hall,* July 21, 1818.

[41] *Ibid.,* July 21, 28, 1817.

[42] *Ibid.,* Oct. 15, 1819.

"ORDER OF THE PERFORMANCE.

"PART I.

"OVERTURE.—Full orchestra.
"ANTHEM.—Our Father who art in heaven.....*Denman*
"RECITATIVE.—Father, thy word is past.....*M. P. King*
"AIR.—I, for his sake.....do.
"RECITATIVE.—But he shall rise victorious.....do.
"CHORUS.—The multitude of Angels.....do.
"SONG.—Star of the North.....*O. Shaw*
"ANTHEM.—When winds breathe soft.....*Webbe*
"DOUBLE CHORUS.—He gave them hailstones for rain. (From *Israel in Egypt.*).....*Handel*

"PART II.

"VOLUNTARY.—On the ORGAN.....*J. Marsh*
"AIR and CHORUS.—Hark! the vesper hymn is stealing.
"CHORUS.—They played in air the trembling music..*Stephenson*
"DUETT.—There is a stream whose gentle flow.
"CHORUS.—The saffron tints of morn appear.....*Mozart*
"AIR.—Rejoice, o Judah!.....*Handel*
"CHORUS.—Hallelujah! amen.....do."[43]

This may well have been the first time that the Christmas season was welcomed to Ohio with the now familiar strains of the "Hallelujah Chorus."

If one were inclined to pay for entertainment, rather than to devise it from resources already at hand, the opportunity was seldom lacking, if one lived along one of the leading highways or in a town along the Ohio River. A whole chapter might be devoted to traveling shows, if their importance warranted it. The advertisements with which this chapter is illustrated must take the place of an extended treatment. It is abundantly evident that frontiersmen were more ready to part with cash in order to see something than to hear it, for with the exception of the "Caledonian Youths" who were advertised as rendering "Scottish and American Airs" on

[43] *Ibid.*, May 25, 1819.

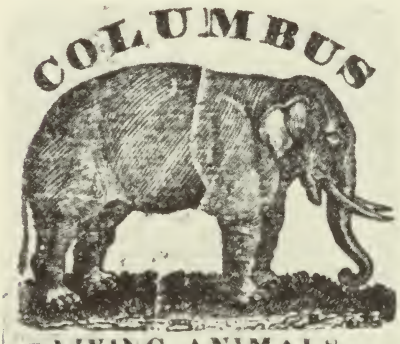
Scottish harps there is scarcely an advertisement to be found of an itinerant musician or lecturer.[44] But of animal shows, equestrian troupes, slack-wire artists, magicians, tumblers, giants, and dwarfs, there was an endless procession.

One of the favorite projects of Daniel Drake and his associates was realized with the establishment in 1819 of the Western Museum at the corner of Main and Columbia streets in Cincinnati. Under the direction of M. Dorfeuille, this institution became the depository of scientific and historical curiosities from bones of mastodons and ancient Egyptians to stuffed reptiles.[45] It also served as an auditorium for scientific lectures and demonstrations. The field of chemistry was most intriguing with Cincinnati audiences, to judge by the regularity with which lectures in that subject were announced. On evenings when the lecture was rather dull, as when M. Dorfeuille spoke in French on the "vertebral Animals," the audience was rewarded by watching the administration of nitrous oxide, or "laughing gas."[46] Tickets for a season's lectures were sold at three dollars, but the purchaser was forewarned that his behavior must be orderly and that there was to be no smoking of "segars."

Only a small proportion of the people of Ohio came in contact with the diversions and the sources of enlightment offered in such centers as Cincinnati and Chillicothe. As institutions of higher learning were established, these too, served only the more densely settled areas. Prior to 1820 the General Assembly had granted charters to four colleges, Ohio University, Miami University, Cincinnati, and Worthington College, and to fourteen secondary schools or academies. Even at the end of the period with which this study is concerned, it cannot be said that these institutions had been an appreciable contribution to the cultural life of the State. Ohio University's early years were quite distressing, largely because of inadequate financial support. Although the school was

[44] *Ibid.,* Sept. 24, 1819.
[45] *Ibid.,* June 11, 1819; Sept. 21, 1822.
[46] *Ibid.,* Apr. 4, 1823.

chartered in 1804, the first commencement was not held until 1815, when two degrees were granted, one of them to Thomas Ewing. Miami was chartered in 1809, but prior to 1825, when Robert Hamilton Bishop became president, it was more noted for the legislative contests which centered around it than for its educational accomplishments. In 1809 and again in 1819, attempts were made to found the University of Cincinnati, and on September 26, 1821, the bachelor's degree was conferred on four young men, one of whom was the son and namesake of William Henry Harrison. It cannot be said that the school was successful, however, until after 1830. Much might be written about these early colleges, but their achievements in the period prior to 1825 were so unimpressive that discussion may well be reserved to another writer.[47]



LIVING ANIMALS.

THE Ladies and Gentlemen of Cincinnati are respectfully informed that the following living animals may be seen on Fifth street near the Museum, opposite the Upper Market-house, viz: a beautiful MALE ELEPHANT, of between 4 and 5,000 pounds weight; a large DROMEDARY, and a JAGUAR, from South America.

The room is large and no danger need be apprehended from the animals.

Hours of Exhibition from 9 to 9. Price of admission 50 cents; children half price.

November 23, 1819. 75tf

39. LIVING ANIMALS
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Nov. 23, 1819.

Daniel Drake and the Reverend Joshua Wilson, the able but contentious pastor of the Cincinnati Presbyterian Church were largely responsible for the founding in 1814 of the Cincinnati Lancastrian Seminary, which flourished to the point that it became the pride of the town.[48] An academy was opened in Chillicothe as early as 1810, with the Reverend Robert G. Wilson, Presbyterian minister and later president of Ohio University, as one of the two teachers. In 1817, under the direction of John McFarland, the Lancastrian method was adopted by this school. In general it may

[47] J. M. Miller, *Genesis of Western Culture: The Upper Ohio Valley, 1800-1825, Ohio Historical Collections,* IX (Columbus, O., 1938), 100-4; *Liberty Hall,* Sept. 29, 1821.

[48] Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati,* 155-8.

be said that only the beginnings of higher education had been made in Ohio prior to 1825.[49]

Some comment has already been made on the deplorable state of common school education prior to the 1830's, in spite of the efforts of such statesmen as Caleb Atwater and Ephraim Cutler in the General Assembly. Fortescue Cuming, who left such a vivid account of his journey across the State in 1807, wrote briefly of a country school which he passed on the road from Chillicothe to Bainbridge: "I observed the school-master, an Irish looking old man, with silver grey locks and barefooted, his whole appearance, and that of the cabin which was the school, indicating little encouragement for the dissemination of instruction."[50] That conditions ten years later were still discouraging, is shown in the sober editorial printed in the *Supporter* (Chillicothe) November 4, 1818: "The manner, in which our youth are at present educated, is, to many, a subject of serious regret. While the state is rapidly improving in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and the people becoming wealthy and independent; the education of their children seems to be almost entirely neglected. The common schools in the country, where the inhabitants are induced to support them, are instituted, in most cases, solely by the exertions of the teacher. They are continued but a small portion of the year, and from the little interest existing in their favor, are generally but indifferently conducted. In many places, the robust, native sons of Ohio are growing up to manhood, with scarcely more intelligence than can be gleaned from the bare light of nature. . . ."

Much information with regard to early Ohio libraries may be obtained from the legislative record, for it was the common practise to take out articles of incorporation. In these library associations the usual practise was to charge an annual membership fee, the proceeds of which were invested in such books as a committee recommended. The renowned "Coonskin Library" founded February 2, 1804, at Ames in Athens County, has often been called the

[49] *Supporter,* Nov. 10, 1810; Sept. 16, 1817.
[50] Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour,* 213.

first library in the Northwest Territory, but the Cincinnati Library, with books purchased at a cost of over $300 was in operation as early as March, 1802.[51] The important fact is that cooperative investments in reading material were being made in at least thirty communities before 1825. It should be remembered, to his honor, that Thomas Worthington, the first governor to preside over the new Capitol at Columbus, was responsible for the founding of the State Library, which has served some millions of readers since its establishment.[52] An idea of the resources of a circulating library may be gained from the following advertisement, chosen at random from dozens of similar notices:

"Philomathic Athanaeum, and Circulating Library.

"The Philomathic Society of Cincinnati College, have removed their Library to an apartment adjoining the lecture room of the Western Museum, and have made arrangements to furnish it with all the best literary journals, and most of the new works of interest. They have received the last numbers of the Quarterly, Edinburg, and North American Reviews, Campbell's new Monthly Magazine, the Museum, the Port Folio, and Silliman's journal of Arts and Sciences.

"They receive all the City papers, which will be regularly filed and bound.

"They have procured the King of the Peak, and Hunter's Narrative, and will receive by mail during the ensuing week, The Pilot, by the author of The Spy, two copies of St. Ronan's Well, will be received in like manner when it shall be published. Also by the first arrivals, eight volumes of Las Case's Journal.

"The Library will be open on Mondays and Thursdays, between the hours of 2 and 5 P.M.

"Five shares remain to be sold. Annual tickets $3 00." [53]

[51] S. J. Cutler, "The Coonskin Library," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXVI (1917), 58; Ewing, "Autobiography," 150-2; James McBride, *Pioneer Biography* . . . (Cincinnati, 1869), I, 104.

[52] D. J. Ryan, "The State Library and Its Founder," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XXVIII (1919), 98-107.

[53] *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* (Cincinnati), I, no. 5 (Jan., 1824), 39.

One is tempted to devote more space to a study of the theater in early Ohio than its contemporary importance would warrant, because anything having to do with the stage is of perennial interest to many readers. This story begins, as is almost invariably the case, with a group of amateurs, the usual "Thespian Corps." The date was October, 1801, the place Cincinnati, and the play was O'Keeffe's comic opera, *The Poor Soldier,* a title appropriate enough, since some of the players were from the local garrison. The prologue spoken before the raising of the curtain on this first performance in the Northwest Territory, was in verse of more than ordinary merit:

> "THESPIS, the father of our mimic art,
> For want of better, ranted in a cart,
> To him all ages still the palm resign,
> And hail him founder of an art divine.
> Thus when the forests of this infant world
> Shall from our fertile hills be proudly hurl'd;
> When commerce shall her golden wings expand,
> And waft our produce to each distant land;
> When wealthy cities shall extensive rise,
> And lofty spires salute our western skies;
> When costly theatres shall loud resound
> With music, mirth & ev'ry joyous sound;
> T'will be remembered that in days of yore,
> Between a ragged roof and sorry floor,
> The laughing muse here for the first time sate,
> And kindly deign'd to cheer our infant state." [54]

In the lines of this remarkably accurate prophecy, the writer asks that those who attend the costly theaters of our own day should not forget the disciples of Thespis who gave that first performance "between a ragged roof and sorry floor."

Amateur groups, still calling themselves Thespians, carried on

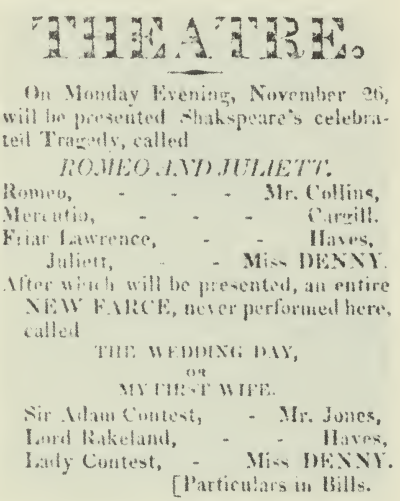
[54] Cincinnati *Western Spy,* Sept. 30, Oct. 10, 1801.

a desultory existence, with occasional performances, throughout the period of this study. In 1811 a company of professional players arrived in Cincinnati, where they were welcomed with open arms by the local amateurs, although they must have recognized that their own fame would be eclipsed. The patronage at Cincinnati was so encouraging that almost from this initial year the city may be said to have had a "theatrical season." Space will not permit a detailed account of the personnel of these strolling companies, although much could be said of Mrs. Drake the first "star," of Mrs. Turner, of Sol Smith, for many years the favorite comedian of the western circuit, or of the theatrical apprenticeship of "the fabulous Forrest."[55]

Certain practises of these road shows seem to have become conventional before their arrival on the frontier. It was probably in deference to the insatiable demand of their audiences that an "afterpiece," usually a light farce, followed the more serious offering of the evening, even if that had been *Macbeth* or *Richard III*. If the curtains rose at early candlelight, it must have been late indeed when the crowd went home along the unpaved and poorly lighted streets. Another tradition was that of the "benefit performances" for the more important members of the troupe. Whatever the financial arrangements may have actually been, the audience was led to believe that the proceeds would go to Mrs. Turner, Miss Riddell, or some other favorite. Although the procedure had become stereotyped, this only added to the attractiveness of such innovations as were added from time to time. It was no small matter, for example, when Mrs. Turner was proclaimed as ready and willing to recite an "Ode to Free-Masonry," or when some attractive actress was billed to dance the "Highland Fling." When gentlemen-musicians of Cincinnati combined their talents under M. Ratel to form an "orchestre," it was a matter for special wonder.

[55] R. L. Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 353-457. The work of Rusk supplants that of W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891). Rusk's chapter on the early theater is excellent. See also Geraldine C. Harris, "History of the Theatre in Ohio, 1815-1850," 1937, MS. (in Ohio State University Library), M. A. thesis.

A careful student of the western theater, R. L. Rusk, after combing the files of newspapers published in Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis between the years 1800 and 1840, compiled a list of over seven thousand theatrical performances, of which over one-third were given in Cincinnati. Some five hundred out of the total were performed before 1820. Shakespeare was clearly the leading playwright, the order of the popularity of his plays being *Richard III, Othello, Hamlet, The Taming of the Shrew, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Macbeth.* Judging by the number of performances, the most popular play, curiously enough, was Kotzebue's exotic drama, *Die Spanier in Peru,* which in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's translation was known as *Pizarro.* This play, by the German author whom Goethe so thoroughly despised, was always expected as part of a company's offering in Cincinnati.



THEATRE.

On Monday Evening, November 26, will be presented Shakspeare's celebrated Tragedy, called

ROMEO AND JULIETT.

Romeo, - - - Mr. Collins,
Mercutio, - - - Cargill.
Friar Lawrence, - - Hayes,
Juliet, - - Miss DENNY.

After which will be presented, an entire NEW FARCE, never performed here, called

THE WEDDING DAY,
OR
MY FIRST WIFE.

Sir Adam Contest, - Mr. Jones,
Lord Rakeland, - - Hayes,
Lady Contest, - Miss DENNY.

[Particulars in Bills.

40. ROMEO AND JULIET
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* Nov. 24, 1821.

The slight demand for realism in the theater is seen in the résumé of a play called *Daniel Boone; or, The First Settlers of Kentucky,* author unknown, which received its initial performance in Cincinnati in 1824.[56] The scene was laid in Boonsborough in 1777, the characters included Daniel Boone, his wife and daughter, George Rogers Clark, Benjamin Logan, O'Flannagan, and Miss Calloway: "End of act 1st, a rural fete and dance by the characters. Act 2d, a hunting party, Boone alone is attacked by a bear, at which he attempts to fire, but his rifle flashes; he retires pursued by the animal. Scene changes to another part of the woods, where Boone is pursued and grappled by the bear, he is seen to pass

[56] *Liberty Hall,* Mar. 19, 1824.



THE ASCENT OF THE
BALLOON

Will take place a quarter of an hour before sundown, it will be decorated by an

American Coat of Arms,

descriptive of the present times:

THE BALLOON

WILL BE 60 FEET IN CIRCUMFERENCE.

MR. GASTON will spare neither time nor expence to render his exhibition as entertaining as possible, and to deserve as much encouragement from the inhabitants of this town as he has experienced at Lexington and Louisville, where his Fireworks have been twice exhibited with success.

An enclosure and seats will be constructed for the purpose; and every attention paid to the spectators.

A BAR and REFRESHMENTS will be found within.

☞ Admittance $1, children half price. Tickets to be had at the Columbian Inn, Cincinnati Hotel, Major M'Henry's, and the bar of the enclosure. No money received at the door.

Cincinnati, April 21.

41. A BALLOON
From Cincinnati *Liberty Hall,* May 15, 1815.

his hand along the left side of the animal, to ascertain the seat of his heart, he then draws his knife and stabs him, he instantly expires. Boone's companions now rush in to his aid, and perceiving that he is wounded, prevail on him to return home to have his wound dressed; this seems providential, for in scene 2d, act 2d, Miss Boone and Miss Calloway, who are amusing themselves outside the fort, are surprised and carried off by three Indians, at this moment Boone and his party arrive, pursue the savages, whom they kill, & rescue the girls. The piece concludes with a most tender interview between Boone, Mrs. Boone, and their daughter, all the characters joining in gratulations."

Ohioans had succumbed to the dreamy romantic mood which had already cast its spell over much of Europe and America. Lines from *The Lady of the Lake* were household property, and stanzas from *Childe Harold* were printed whenever a column was a bit short. The age of the hardy pioneers was passing and sweet sentimentality was coming into its own. The two selections of "poetry" which appear below, will convince the reader of the truth of this conclusion. First, two stanzas out of seven under the title "The Joy

of Grief," accepted for publication in the Columbus *Gazette,* March 11, 1823:

"There is a joy, in silent grief,
Which gives this heart a sweet relief,
A joy I ever hope to feel
Too deep for time itself to heal.

"Ah can I ever cease to weep,
Since her I lov'd has fallen asleep.
The cold and silent tomb her pillow,
Its only shade, the drooping willow."

The aging pioneer scoffed at this talk of "pillow and willow," for he knew that the "poet" was only pretending that someone was dead. The second effusion, in the meter of one of Scott's songs was an "Address to the River Ohio," by T.J.M. in *Liberty Hall,* August 11, 1821:

"Thy banks are no more the wild haunt of the savage,
Whose war whoop oft broke on the silence of night
To rouse his dark spirit to murder and ravage,
And quail his sure prey with surprise and affright.

"Now the ploughman's blithe carol awakens the morn,
As forth to his labor he cheerfully goes;
And gay in the sun waves the high tassel'd corn,
Where late the dark gloom of thy forests arose."

The corn *was* waving in many fields which only a few years before had been covered by the gloomy forest. In a way this epitomizes the achievement of the period which this volume commemorates. Many stumps were left standing in the fields, but younger men could grub them out. Throughout this study an attempt has been made to see things in the pioneer's own perspective, which is difficult to achieve, since we are constantly aware of developments which to him lay far in the future. We know, for ex-

ample, that such schools as Miami and Ohio universities were destined to play a large part in the educational development of the State, but to the average pioneer, if he had ever heard of them, they were important principally as the subject of legislative bickering. Cleveland was a post town and the county-seat of Cuyahoga County. The pioneer could read in John Kilbourn's *Gazetteer* that it was "a considerably noted place of embarkation for the various parts of the Lake," but neither Kilbourn nor the pioneer nor any citizen of the little village of five or six hundred could have foretold its coming greatness. Although the future was hidden from the pioneers, as it is from all men, their thoughts were almost constantly fixed upon it. To see a prosperous farm while standing in the heart of a deep forest, to conjure up a village from a few lines on a scrap of paper, these were things that they could do, for they were great dreamers.

One might wish to examine the extent to which an indigenous culture was arising in the West.[57] A student of the period becomes fully aware of the indebtedness of the frontier to the East for ideas, institutions, traditions, and prejudices; and of the hope, both implied and expressed, that the "better life," as the early settlers had experienced it "back home" could be reproduced in the West. Importations from the East were much modified in the course of their incorporation into the western setting; of this there can be no question. In the field of religious expression there was much that might be called unique. It may be admitted that individualism was less hampered on the western edge of settlement, and that one felt fewer restraints on the definition, and the pursuit, of happiness, but this atmosphere was more largely the result of the sparsity of population that of a philosophy adopted with deliberation. With the nice problem of the extent to which the pattern of western culture was "evolved" or "borrowed," or whether society on the frontier was atomized, as if in some giant cyclotron, this study cannot concern itself, for these are naked abstractions which had better be left to writers more capable of giving them a wordy cloth-

[57] Miller, *Genesis of Western Culture.*

ing.[58] It has been a sufficient task to describe, with honesty, how things actually were among Ohioans of the first quarter of the last century, without attempting to explain how they came to be that way, save where the explanation seemed fairly obvious.

[58] D. R. Fox, ed., *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* (New York, 1934).

Index

Abbott, David, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9.
Abrems, Israel, runaway apprentice, 401.
Academies, 411–2.
Actors and actresses, 416.
Adams, Henry, cited, 88.
Adams, John Quincy, 6th President of U. S., xi; prosecutes J. Smith, 74–5; C. Hammond and, 297, 309; election of 1824, 329–35; congressional election, 1825, 336–7.
Adams, Nathaniel, letter about War of 1812, 89.
Adams, Seth, imports Merino sheep, 165.
Adams Co., 59; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; erection and organization, 34; tan-bark, 237; iron, 255.
Adena, T. Worthington's residence, 84.
Adultery, 368.
Aetna, steamboat, 189.
Agricultural Experiment Station, *see* Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station.
Agriculture, 40, 123, 145–72, 393, 413.
Agriculture, State Board of, *see* Ohio State Board of Agriculture.
Ague, 124, 339, 342–3, 357, 390.
Akron, salt, 254; population, 393.
Alaska, 138.
Alexander, John, congressman, 94.
Alexandria, ship-building, 180.
Alien and Sedition Acts, 333.
Alkalies, 235–6.
Alleghenies, a barrier to commerce, 87, 179; lumber from, 231.
Allegheny Co., Md., 160.
Allen Co., erection and organization, 34; Welsh in, 396.
Ambler, C. H., cited, 179.
America, 407, 418.
American Church History Series, cited, 378.
American Historical Review, cited, 179, 230, 297.
American Pioneer, cited, 3, 143–4, 401.
American Revolution, 119, 370; veterans, 125.
American State Papers, Indian Affairs, cited, 97; *Finance*, cited, 229, 264, 279, 281–2, 284, 286–9, 306.
American System, 329, 332.
Ames, 413.
Amusements, xii, 404–5.
Anabaptists, 395.
Anesthesia, 361.
Animals, 147; adv. of exhibition of, 412.
Annals of Congress, cited, 4, 74, 109, 217.
Antisepsis, 361.
Apoplexy, 339.
Apples, 168–9.
Appleseed, Johnny, *see* Chapman, John.
Appointive power, 15–8, 27.
Appraisers of property, township, 35.
Apprentices, 401.
Appropriations and expenditures, State, 18.
Archaeological and Historical Society, State, *see* Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Architecture, 387.
Arks, river-boats, 175–8, 182, 292.
Arminianism, 371, 378, 380.
Armstrong, Col., orchard, 169.
Armstrong, John, secretary of war, 101; interferes with W. H. Harrison's plans against Canada, 104; questions Harrison's competence, 113; compelled to retire, 118.
Arrest, 23.
Arson, 38, 367.
Asbury, Francis, Methodist bishop, 85, 362.
Ashes, 149–50, 153, 235–6, 267.
Ashland Co., erection and organization, 34; wheat, 162.
Ashtabula, roads, 214.
Ashtabula Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234; asheries, 236; pottery, 257.
Assembly, right of, 23.
Assessor, county, 325.
Astor, John Jacob, assists in financing Ohio canals, 318.
Athens Co., erection and organization,

34; land values, 132; millstones, 241; "Coonskin Library," 413.
Atkinson, E. S., cited, 168.
Atlantic, 179, 185.
Atonement, 375.
Atwater, Caleb, cited, 111, 317–8, 320, 326, 342; supports public schools in legislature, 321–2, 324.
Auditor, county, 33, 233–4.
Auditor, State, *see* Ohio Auditor.
Augers, 255.
Auglaize Co., erection and organization, 34.
Auglaize River, 96, 316.
Aumann, F. R., cited, 15.
Austinburg, turnpike company, 213.
"Autumnal fevers," 338, 342, 361.
Ayres, Jacob, digs salt well, 254.
Axes, 231, 255.
Bachmeyer, A. C., cited, 360.
Bacon, James and Sally, his wife, 369.
Badger, Joseph, cited, 30, 342–3, 376; missionary to Indians at Sandusky, 93; minister in Western Reserve, 362, 379.
Baily, William, invents machine to speed production of barrels, 239.
Bain, inventor of flax dressing machine, 249.
Bainbridge, 131, 203, 413; forge, 256.
Bakers, 259.
Baldwin, Michael, leader in fight for statehood, 6; delegate at Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; speaker of Ohio House, 27; candidate for representative in Congress, 30; Federal marshal for Ohio, 76.
Ballard, H. H., cited, 114.
Balloon, illus., 418.
Baltimore, Md., 154, 173, 182, 221–2, 269; market for Ohio stock, 156–7; branch Bank of the U. S., 284.
Bank-notes, 268–9, 271, 274, 278, 280, 283–4, 286, 289–90, 306; spurious, 275; unrestricted, 276.
Bank of the United States, xi, 63, 327, 329; in financial disaster, 262—95; taxed by State legislature, 296—312; policy of, condoned by W. H. Crawford, 330; H. Clay, attorney for, 332; question in election of 1824, 335.
Bankers, 10.
Bankruptcy, 264, 284, 290.
Banks and banking, 262–310, 368, 398, 405.
Baptism, 371–2, 378–80, 387.
Baptists, 371–3, 376, 378–80, 382.
Barber, Levi, cited, 82.
Barclay, Robert Heriot, British commander of Lake Erie fleet, 108; surrenders, 109.
Barges, river-craft, xii, 174–5, 183–6, 198, 314.
Bark-mill, illus., 237.
Barker, J. M., cited, 373.
Barker, Joseph, cited, 327.
Barley, 153, 167, 242.
Barrels, 238–9.
Barter system, 265.
Bartholomew, Raymond J., cited, 126.
Bartlett, R. J., cited, 4.
Barton, W. E., cited, 379.
Bates, J. L., cited, 314.
Baton Rouge, 189.
Baum, Capt., 184.
Baum and Perry, mercantile firm, Cincinnati, 184.
Baum, Martin, establishes Miami Exporting Company, 267; on board of Cincinnati Branch Bank of U. S., 278; home, 388; encourages migration of Germans to Cincinnati, 394.
Baum, Sloo and Co., boat-owner, 184.
Bears, 390.
Beasley, Nathaniel, member of Ohio Canal Commission, 318.
Beaver, R. P., cited, 224.
Bed and board, 369; adv., 368.
Beds, 239, 348–9.
Beecher, Philemon, candidate against E. Tiffin for U. S. Senate, 1807, 42, 76; cited, 290.
Beef, 152, 155, 157–8, 241, 267, 295.
Belmont Co., 45; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; against negro suffrage, 21; erection and organization, 34; elects C. Hammond to State Senate, 113; population, 392.
Belt, Levin, cited, 14.
Benjamin, Asher, architect, 387.
Berkshire, 403.
Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society, *Collections*, cited, 114.
Beulah, Pa., Welsh in, 396.
Bible, 380, 384–5; societies, 362.
Bidwell, P. W., cited, 164.
Big Walnut Creek, 210.
Bilious fevers, 340, 342.
Bill of rights, 19, 22–3.
Billiard tables, 363.
Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery . . . of the State of Ohio, cited, 323, 358.
Biscuits, 164.
Bishop, J. L., cited, 230, 235.

Bishop, Robert Hamilton, president of Miami University, 412.
Black River, 317.
Black Swamp, 96, 101.
Blacksmiths, 255–6, 259.
Bladder, removal of stones from, 353.
Blair, Walter, cited, 187.
Blasphemy, 362–3.
Blennerhassett, Harmon, discusses separation of West from Union, 69; letter to D. Woodbridge, facsim., 70; involved with A. Burr, 71; escapes, 72; boats and supplies seized, 73; partner of D. Woodbridge in mercantile business, 147.
Blood-pressure apparatus, 348.
Bloodletting, 348–9, 351, 353.
Bloomingville, denied a bank charter, 275.
Blue Laws, 362–3.
Board of Agriculture, *see* Ohio State Board of Agriculture.
Board of Canal Commissioners, *see* Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners *and* Ohio Board of Canal Fund Commissioners.
Boat-building, 176, 192, 198.
Boatmen, 186–7, 361, 363–4.
Boats, 175–8, 182, 185, 193, 232, 240.
Bogart, E. L., cited, 297, 305, 314.
Bond, B. W., Jr., cited, 4.
Bonus Law, 264, 267, 272–3, 298.
Bookcases, 239.
Books, 414.
Boone, Daniel, drama, 417–8.
Boots, 171.
Boring-machine, 238.
Boston, 181, 211.
"Botanic" school of medicine, 347.
Boucher, Chauncey S., xiv.
Boulton, inventor of steam-engines, 189, 193.
Boundaries, 4–5.
Bounty Lands, 127.
Bradbury, John, cited, 141, 171.
Bradford, Thomas, Jr., cited, 367.
Brain concussions, 353.
Breast, removal, by E. Tiffin, 354.
Breckenridge, John, bill for the government of Louisiana, 67.
Breweries, 167.
Bridgeport, 168.
Bridges, 33–4, 199, 207, 215, 219.
Briggs, Benjamin, editor of Newark *Advocate*, 337.
Brigs, 182.
British, policy toward Indians, 78–9; war with U. S. imminent, 76–7, 81–3; in War of 1812, 86–119; in New Orleans, 191.
Broadcloths, 250–1.
Broadhorns, river-craft, 175, 177–8.
Brock, Isaac, British general, 89.
Brown, Daniel M., 403.
Brown, Ethan Allen, governor, 95, 214–5, 233, 243, 300–1, 304–6, 312–5, 326–7; judge on Ohio Supreme Court, 54; MSS., cited, 54, 95, 215, 304, 314, 316–8, 327; port., 313; commissioned to study canal construction, 316; member of Canal Fund Commission, 318; supports D. Drake in establishment of hospital for insane, 360.
Brown, Ezekiel, 403.
Brown Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234.
Brown University, cited, 55.
Browne, John W., delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–10, 19–20; founder of Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*, 37, 351.
Brownstown, Mich., Treaty of, 78.
Brownsville, Pa., 191, 224; boat-building, 176, 192.
Brush, E. C., cited, 247, 349, 351.
Brush, Henry, defender of G. Tod in impeachment trial, 50.
Bryce, James, 398.
Buck Spring, N. C., 18.
Buckingham, Ebenezer, Jr., member of canal commissions, 316, 318.
Buckwheat, 163.
Buffalo, N. Y., 135, 211, 314.
Buffalo, steamboat, 190.
Bullet playing, 363.
Bureau of Statistics, *see* U. S. Bureau of Statistics.
Bureaus, furniture, 239.
Burglary, 365, 367.
Burke, William, preaches to militia, 85.
Burlington, 242.
Burlington Heights, 110.
Burnet, Jacob, cited, 4–5, 10, 30, 146, 174, 183–4, 266–7, 291, 294; political activity in 1803, 26; defender of G. Tod in impeachment trial, 50; leader in Cincinnati Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, 262; on board of Cincinnati Branch Bank of U. S., 278.
Burr, Aaron, Conspiracy, 42, 55, 69–77, 134.
Bushnell, Henry, cited, 370, 408.
Business, 228.
Butler, J. G., Jr., cited, 255, 405.

Butler Co., 225; votes Federalist in election of first representative to Congress, 30; erection and organization, 34; politics, 335; population, 392; Welsh in, 396.
Butter, 161, 238.
Byrd, Charles Willing, 27; delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; succeeds A. St. Clair as governor of Northwest Territory, 13; aids in drafting Ohio Constitution, 16; judge in Federal courts, 307.
Byron, Lord, *Childe Harold*, 418.
Cabinetmakers, 238, 259.
Cabins, 142, 255, 385; construction, 138–40.
Cadiz, turnpike company, 213.
Caesarean section, 353.
Caldwell, James, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; quoted, 81, 87; as congressman, 94.
Calhoun, John C., Presidential candidate, 329–30.
Calomel, 342–3, 348.
"Calpurnius," quoted, 60.
Calvinism, 372, 378, 380–1.
Cambria, Pa., Welsh in, 396.
Cambridge, 408; turnpike company, 213.
Camomile, 342.
Camp-meetings, 371, 383, 398.
Campbell, Alexander, minister, 380.
Campbell, Alexander, U. S. senator, 59, 82, 95.
Campbell, Edward, 357.
Campbell, Joseph, ferry owner, 208.
Campbell, Thomas, 405.
Campus Martius Museum, cited, 180.
Canada, invasion of, 81, 86, 89, 98–100, 102–4, 106, 108–10, 112.
Canadian Historical Review, cited, 125.
Canadians, receive lands in Refugee Tract in Ohio, 125.
Canal-boats, 183.
Canal Commissioners, *see* Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners *and* Ohio Board of Canal Fund Commissioners.
Canals, xii, 61, 174, 199, 217, 223, 264, 295–6, 314–9, 321, 324–7, 329, 335.
Candles, 236, 258.
Cane Ridge, revival meetings, 371.
Canfield, 157.
Canton, land-office, 129; stage line, 211; Farmers' Bank of, 285.
Canton, China, 149.
Capital, money, 179, 265–6, 270, 273, 280, 283–4, 289; for canals, 316, 325.
Capital, Northwest Territory, at Chillicothe, 10.
Capital, State, 16, 367; at Chillicothe, 6, 53; at Zanesville, 53–4; Muskingum River chosen by Federalists as site of, 7; at Columbus, 298, 300, 414.
Capitalism, 229.
Capitols, *see* Ohio Capitol.
Car of Commerce, steamboat, 193.
Carding-machines and mills, 248–9, 258.
Cards, playing, 363.
Carlisle, England, birthplace of E. Tiffin, 12.
Carlisle, John, on board of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 278.
Carolinas, 393.
Carpenter, H. M., cited, 126.
Carpenter, Samuel, cited, 64.
Carpenters, 171, 238.
Carpenter's Inn, Cincinnati, 205.
Carrigan, M. J., cited, 354, 401.
Carroll Co., erection and organization, 34.
Cartwright, Peter, circuit-rider, 372–5, 406.
Cass, Lewis, 29; cited, 36, 76; defender of G. Tod in impeachment trial, 50; introduces resolutions of Ohio's loyalty during A. Burr scare, 73; appointed Federal marshal, 76; leads regiment in Detroit campaign, 88, 112; candidate for U. S. Senate, 95; made major-general, 104.
Cassinets, 250.
Castings, 256.
Castor-oil, 247.
Cathartics, 349.
Catholics, 381.
Catnip, 168.
Catterall, R. C. H., cited, 264, 283–4.
Cattle, 123, 151, 157–62, 292–3.
Census, *see* U. S. Census.
Cestne, Thomas, 350.
Chair-makers, 238.
Chamomile, *see* Camomile.
Champaign Co., 149; erection and organization, 34.
Chapman, John, nurseryman, 168.
Charcoal, 255–6.
Charlestown, Mass., 391.
Charlestown, Va., 12.
Chase, Salmon P., cited, 38–41, 72, 307.
Chatham, Ont., 110.
Cheese, 161.
Chemistry, 347, 411.
Chesapeake-Leopard crisis, 1807, 76–8, 87.
Cheves, Langdon, successor to W. Jones as president of Bank of U. S., 285, 306.

Chicago University library, cited, 32, 127.
Chickasaw Indians, 158.
Chillicothe, 14, 18, 24, 26, 32, 38, 42–3, 46, 64–6, 72–3, 76, 79, 82, 93, 95, 112, 116, 118, 131, 134, 158, 170, 202–3, 236, 293, 336, 354, 370, 408; State Capitol at, xi, 2–3, 27, 53–4, 272; politics, 4, 6; capital of Northwest Territory, 10; junto, 12; residence of E. Tiffin, 19; newspapers of, 36; *Scioto Gazette,* 36–7, 58, 60, 67–9, 98, 180, 204, 328, 357; *Supporter,* 37, 48, 50, 52, 60, 62, 77–8, 119, 133, 148–50, 161, 165–7, 169, 207–9, 218, 224, 226, 242, 252–4, 261, 269, 275–6, 292, 294, 299–300, 303, 330, 355, 368, 384, 395, 401, 413; *Fredonian,* cited, 54, 61, 353; Tammany Society, 55, 57–60; *Independent Republican,* 58–9, 166, 252; J. Graham at, 71; mass meeting protesting British actions, 77; residence of T. Worthington, illus., 84; *Spirit of the West,* cited, 119; land-office, 127, 129–30, 145; benefits indirectly from steamboat traffic on Ohio River, 198; river traffic, 199; roads, 200, 217, 221, 223; ferry, 208; turnpike company, 213; bridge, 215; mail, 218; whiskey, 247; Red Lion Tavern, 252; dyeing, 253; paper-mill, 260; Branch Bank of U. S., 264, 277–8, 283–4, 298–9, 302, 305–6; Bank, 268–9, 273, 289, 292; *Friend of Freedom,* cited, 330; *Times,* cited, 331; health conditions, 343; dentistry, 355; association for suppression of vice in, 383–4; first religious paper published in, 385; population, 393; social life, 405; culture, 411; academies, 412.
Chills, 338, 340, 342.
China, ginseng market, 148–9; crapes imported from, 402.
Cholera, Asiatic, 347.
Cholera infantum, 339–40, 348.
Christian, Thomas, cited, 103.
Christians, 380, 382–3.
Christians, sect, 372, 376, 380.
Churches, 369-71, 373, 378, 381, 383, 396.
Cider, 169.
Cincinnati, 19, 50, 68–9, 73, 116, 134, 149, 189, 192, 203–5, 225, 227, 291, 312, 321, 353, 363; politics, 6, 30, 329–30, 332; A. St. Clair's political activity at, 7; *Western Spy,* cited, 7–9, 26, 37, 76–7, 115, 117, 217–8, 261, 275, 278, 291, 301–2, 310, 327–8, 415; newspapers, 36, 261, 417; *Liberty Hall,* 37, 40, 45–6, 56, 74, 77, 79, 85–6, 88, 117, 128, 135, 148, 151, 155–6, 163, 165, 169, 171, 181, 184, 190–1, 193–4, 198, 200, 209, 218, 226, 237, 239, 244, 248, 253, 261–2, 267, 275, 277, 289, 292, 294–5, 302–3, 310, 327–8, 332, 340, 348, 351–2, 355–6, 366, 368, 384–5, 391, 400–1, 404–12, 417–9; Tammany Society, 57; J. Smith's property in, sacrificed, 75; mass meetings at, protesting British actions, 77; W. H. Harrison at, 91, 101, 262; land-office, 129–30, 145; packing business, 156; nurseries, 169; barges, 183–4, 253; in 1820, illus., 197; boat-building, 198; roads, 200, 211; mail, 209; turnpike company, 213; stage line, 217–8; *Gazette,* quoted, 226; coopering, 239; center of Ohio Valley flour milling 241; flour marketing, 244, 315; piano-making, 258, 408; Branch Bank of U. S., 264, 278, 287–8, 298, 310; Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, 270, 289; banks, 273, 287, 289, 299; Piatt's Bank, 274; bank crisis, 285; C. Hammond at, 309; canals, 316–8; mass meeting urges Congress not to create a slave state, 328; *National Republican,* quoted, 337; mortality, 340; health conditions, 343; medical education, 344, 360; D. Drake at, 345–6; drug business, 352; Bell Tavern, 355; Mennesieurs' Tavern, 357; Lancastrian School, 359, 412; University, 360, 411–2; Museum of Natural History, 359; hospitals, 361; Methodism introduced to, 373; Taft House, illus., 388–9; population, 390, 392–3, 397; Germans in, 394; Welsh in, 396; social life, 405; M. Ratel in, 409; Haydn Society, 409; Western Museum, 411, 414; Presbyterian Church, 412; Library, 414; theater, 415–6.
Cincinnati, barge, 184.
Cincinnati Literary Gazette, cited, 341, 414.
Circleville, 321; stage line, 218; farms, 294; Dr. James Riggs in, 352.
Circuit-riders, 373–5, 383.
Circuses, 385.
Cities, 35.
Civil War, 252.
Claiborne, W. C. C., cited, 188.
Clark, George Rogers, drama, 417–8.
Clark, V. S., cited, 230.
Clark Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234; milling, 242.
Clay, General Green, Kentucky militia leader in War of 1812, 102–4, 106.
Clay, Henry, speaker of U. S. House, 79; urges W. H. Harrison to become major-general of Kentucky militia, 91; at-

tornev for Bank of U. S., 308; Presidential candidate, 1824, 329, 331–6.
Claypool, Abram, cashier, Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 355–6.
Clays, 256, 258.
Clearing of land, 141–2.
Cleaves, Freeman, 88, 91, 107, 110.
Clergymen, *see* Ministers.
Clerk, township, 35.
Clerk of the court, county, 33.
Clermont, steamboat, 188.
Clermont Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 117, 335; grapes, 169; pottery, 257; population, 392.
Cleveland, C. C., cited, 371.
Cleveland, 28, 78; in War of 1812, 90, 124; roads, 200; salt, 254; banks, 273; Commercial Bank of Lake Erie, 286; canals, 316–8; population, 393; beginnings, 420.
Clinton, De Witt, Federalist candidate for President, 1812, 61–2; incorporator of Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company, 190; promoter of New York canals, 314; visits Ohio to celebrate opening of canal-building program, 1825, 318–9; Presidential candidate, 1824, 329–30.
Clinton Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 335.
Cloth, 150, 231, 236, 248–50, 261, 402.
Clothing, 165, 249, 399–403, 406–8.
Clover, 163, 167–8.
Cock-fighting, 363.
Cole, Thomas, painter, 408.
Collector, township, 41.
"College Township," 6.
Colleges and universities, 411–2.
Collins, J. S., editor of Chillicothe *Scioto Gazette,* 37, 58.
Collins, John, Methodist lay preacher, 373–4.
Columbia, 169, 205.
Columbia River, 200.
Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* cited, 196, 202–3.
Columbiana Co., erection and organization, 30, 34; iron, 255; population, 392; Germans in, 395.
Columbus, 314, 316–7, 325, 336; mass meetings protesting British actions, 77; *Gazette,* 106, 148, 199, 210–2, 218–9, 221, 239, 249, 275, 294, 299, 334, 338, 366–7, 369, 384, 402, 404, 409, 419; roads, 210–2, 221; wagon line, 222; banks, 273; farm lands, 294; State Capitol, 298, 300; D. Drake in, lobbying for hospital for insane, 360; State penitentiary at, 366; Sunday-schools, 384; population, 393; Handel Society 409; capital of State, 414.
Comet, 189.
Commerce, 76, 87, 173–99, 220, 230, 261, 263, 391, 413.
Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum, 360.
Commissioner of Public Lands, *see* U. S. Commissioner of Public Lands.
Commissioners, Canal, *see* Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners, *and* Ohio Board of Canal Fund Commissioners.
Commissioners, county, 33, 35, 206, 232.
Commissioning Act, 57; repealed, 60.
Committee on Foreign Relations, *see* U. S. Congress.
Common law, xi, 38–40, 364.
Compton, H.W., cited, 102.
Concerts, 409; program, 410.
Concord forge, 256.
Concussion of brain, 354.
Conestoga wagons, 219.
Confidence men, 367.
Congregationalists, 372, 376, 396; unite with Presbyterians in West, 379.
Congress, *see* U. S. Congress.
Congress Lands, 129–30.
Connecticut, 28–9, 43–4, 47–8, 312, 341, 365, 393; Jeffersonians in, 32; regulation of land deeds to the Firelands, 127; factory production, 229; Blue Laws of, 363; Congregationalism in, 379.
Connecticut Western Reserve, *see* Western Reserve.
Connor, Daniel, ironworks, 260.
Constables, 35, 46.
Constitution, *see* Kentucky Constitution, Ohio Constitution, Pennsylvania Constitution, Tennessee Constitution, *and* U. S. Constitution.
Constitutional Convention, *see* Ohio Constitutional Convention.
Constitutions, 328.
Consumption, 340, 349, 356.
Conventions, constitutional, 1802, 6–10, 12–25; of banks, 1816, 281; constitutional. 1819, 327; Harrisburg, 330.
Conversion, 362, 382.
Convicts, 367.
Convulsions, 339.
Conway, William, "Indian" doctor, 356.
"Coonskin Library," 413–4.
Cooperative marketing, 266.

Cooperative Topographic Survey, *see* Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey.
Coopers, 238.
Copper, 258.
Coppersmiths, 258.
Cordage, 167, 267.
"Cordelling," 185–6.
Corn, 146, 151–4, 157, 162–3, 166, 241, 245–6, 292–3, 419; meal, 152, 267; bread, 165, 387.
Coroners, 26.
Corsets, 403.
Coshocton, stage line, 211.
Coshoction Co., erection and organization, 34; liquor consumption, 246.
Cotillion clubs, 405–6.
Cotton, John, cited, 395.
Cotton, 166–7, 179, 251; mills, 262.
Couch, J. N., cited, 79.
Counterfeiting, 276, 365, 367–8.
Counties, erection, 14, 27, 30, 34; seats, 14–6, 30; in 1803, map, 28; in 1806, map, 29; government of, 33–6; in 1816, map, 132; population, 392; of eastern Ohio, 393–4.
Courts, 14–6, 27–9, 32–3, 40–1, 48, 50–2, 54, 135–7, 310; equality of Negroes in, 21; clash with Ohio General Assembly, 44; scene, 399–400. *See also* U. S. Courts.
Courts, circuit, 44.
Courts, common pleas, 14, 27–9, 33, 45, 55, 155, 327, 399.
Courts, supreme, *see* Ohio Supreme Court *and* U. S. Supreme Court.
Cowles, Renselear, W., cited, 222.
Cradle, grain harvester, 164.
Cradles, baby, 238.
Cramer, C. H., cited, 113.
Cramer, Zadoc, cited, 176, 397.
Crane (Tarhe), *see* Tarhe, the Crane.
Crape, 402.
Crawford, William Harris, secretary of the treasury, 278–80, 282, 284, 289, 306; Presidential candidate, 329–30, 333, 336.
Crawford Co., erection and organization, 34.
Credit, 265, 270–1, 274, 276, 278, 280–1, 285, 290.
Creeds, 380.
Creek Indians, 119.
Creighton, William, Jr., secretary of state of Ohio, 27, 61, 77; cited, 24, 66, 68, 73, 202, 277, 292; clerk of committee to compile criminal code for Ohio, 38; defends G. Tod in impeachment trial, 50; opposes Tammany Society, 59; elected to Congress, 1812, 94; on board of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 278, 305–7.
Crimes and criminal code, 23, 38, 40, 262, 364–6.
Croghan, George, defends Ft. Stephenson, 105, 107.
Crops, 122–3, 138, 142–3, 146–72, 293.
Cross, John, papermaker, 260.
Croup, 339–40.
Cruelty, 368.
Cultivation, 151–2, 164.
Culture, xii, 387–421.
Cumberland Presbyterians, 380.
Cumberland River, 179.
Cumberland Road, *see* National Road.
Cuming, Fortesque, cited, 131, 157, 187, 240, 396, 398, 408, 413.
Cupping, 348.
Currency, 368.
Curtis, H. B., cited, 140, 366.
Cushing, Samuel, cited, 102.
Cutler, Ephraim, delegate from Marietta to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 7, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23–4; member of Washington Benevolent Society, 114; relates of clearing of land, 142; cattle-raiser, 157, 159–60; sponsors legislation for public school system in Ohio, 321–2, 324, 413; port., 323; proposes ad valorem tax on land, 325.
Cutler, J. P., cited, 7–8, 16, 20, 23, 142, 157, 159, 253, 320–1, 324–5.
Cutler, Jervis, cited, 254.
Cutler, Manasseh, 7.
Cutler, S. J., cited, 414.
Cuyahoga Co., 420; erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; lumber, 234; alkalies, 236; politics, 333.
Cuyahoga River, 316, 318.
Dairying, 157, 161.
Dams, 199, 232.
Dana, Edmund B., boat-owner, 181.
Dancing, 385, 405–7.
Daniel Boone, drama, 417–8.
Darby, Jeanne Phillips, 182.
Darby Creek, 123, 406.
Darke Co., erection and organization, 34.
Davis, river pilot, 180.
Dayton, Jonathan, land speculator, 127.
Dayton, 317; militia meets at, 85; benefits indirectly from steamboat traffic on Ohio River, 198; roads, 200; stage line, 212, 217; turnpike company, 213; canal, 318; population, 393.
Dayton Manufacturing Company, 270.

Deafness, 357.
Dearborn, Henry, secretary of war, 68.
Dearborn Fort, massacre and fall, 91.
Debt and debtors, 23, 146, 263–4, 273, 290–2; public land, 64–5; war, 279.
Deer Creek, 123; Methodist circuit, 374.
Defiance, Fort, 96, 116.
Defiance Co., erection and organization, 34.
Delaware, land-office, 130; postmaster, 210; wagon line through, 222; public land sales at, 294.
Delaware Co., erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; lumber, 234; Welsh in, 396.
Delaware Indians, 105.
Democratic Republicans, *see* Republicans.
Denison University, Dr. Utter at, xi.
Denman, composer, 410.
Dent, John, introduces red chaff bearded wheat to Muskingum Co., 163.
Dentists, 354–6.
Department of Interior, *see* U. S. Department of Interior.
Depravity, 362–87.
Depressions, economic, 160, 179, 211, 229, 263, 291, 310.
De Rottenburg, Francis, 110.
De Tocqueville, Alexis, 398.
Detroit, 4–5, 39, 110, 391; expedition against, 85–6, 88, 91, 94–6, 408; D. McArthur at, 112.
Detroit, Treaty of, 78.
Dickinson, C. E., cited, 379.
Dickinson, William R., partner of B. Wells in woolen manufacture, 166.
Dickinson College, 27.
Dictionary of American Biography, cited, 191.
Dietrich, Jacob, founds Lancaster *Adler*, 395.
Dill, Thomas, 203.
Dillon, Moses, erects furnace at Zanesville, 255, 259.
Disciples of Christ, *see* Christians, sect.
Dishes, 226.
Distilling and distilleries, 153, 231, 240, 245.
Dittrick, Howard, cited, 347.
Divorces, 368.
Doctors of medicine, *see* Physicians.
Documents, xiii.
Dondore, D. A., cited, 398.
Dorfeuille, M., director of Western Museum, 411.
Dow, Lorenzo, minister, 362.
Downes, R. C., cited, 4, 7, 14, 28–9, 132.
Doyell, Nimrod, cited, 97.
Drake, Mrs., stage celebrity, 416.
Drake, Daniel, cited, 226, 230–1, 236, 239, 267, 339–341, 343, 388, 390, 397, 404, 412; on board of Cincinnati Branch Bank of U. S., 278; "father of Ohio physicians," 338–9; career, 343–51; drug business, 352; publishes account of first Caesarean section in West, 353; port., 358; socially minded, 359; president of Medical College of Ohio, 360; describes Cincinnati social life, 404; aids establishment of Western Museum, 411; founds Cincinnati Lancastrian Seminary, 412.
Draper, L. C., MSS., cited, 20, 92.
Dresden, castor-oil, 247.
Dropsy, 357.
Droving, 157, 159–60.
Drugs, 226, 341, 345, 351–2.
Drunkenness, 362, 383.
Dry goods, 226.
Dudley, Dr., operates for stone, 354.
Dudley, Col., William, defeat, 103–4, 107.
Dunbar, Seymour, cited, 175, 178, 188–9.
Dunkards, 395.
Dunlap, James, candidate for governor, 326.
Dunlavy, Francis, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; a scholar, 29; judge in court of common pleas, 28.
Dush, Adam, and wife, Elenor, 369.
Dwarf, illus., 400.
Dyeing, 231, 252, 259.
Earthquake, 189.
East, 248, 402; market for potash, 150, 390; debt of West to, 420.
East India columbo root, 149.
Eastern Seaboard, 173, 179, 182, 314, 378; suspension of specie payment on, 270.
Eastern States, 39.
Ebensburg, Pa., Welsh in, 396.
Economic life and conditions, xii-xiii, 172, 174, 226, 228, 262–95, 312, 329, 331, 360.
Education, xii, 319–22, 396, 398, 420; medical, 344–6; dental, 354–5; higher, 411–3; common school, 413.
Edwards, John S., congressman, 94–5.
Eggleston, Chauncey, cited, 235–6.
Eickhoff, Anton, cited, 394.
Elba, 114.
Election, doctrine of, 375.
Elections, political, 14, 17–8, 214; of delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention.

6–8; of 1803, 25–6, 30; of 1807, 36, 42; of 1808, 48; of 1810, 55, 57; of 1811, 60; of 1812, 61–2, 93–5, 99; of 1814, 117; of 1824, 296, 322, 326, 328, 332–5; of 1816, 297, 326; of 1818, 300–326; of 1819, 327; of 1820, 326; of 1822, 326; of 1828, 335, 337.
"Elixir of Longevity," 356–7.
Emancipation, 19–20.
Embargo, 77; Act of 1808, 179.
Emetics, 342–3, 348–9, 351.
"Emigrant guides," 124.
Emotionalism, 375.
Emulong, Mrs., of Cincinnati, 355.
Enabling Act, 4–7, 31; speech of A. St. Clair against, 12; counter-proposals to, accepted by Congress, 24.
England, 10; Durham cattle imported from, 158; smallpox vaccine imported from, 350; fen-farmers of, 399; muslins imported from, 402; pianos imported from, 408. *See also* British.
Enterprize, steamboat, 191–3, 195–6, 244–5.
Entertainment, *see* Amusements.
Epidemics, 339, 347–9.
"Era of good feeling," 295–337.
Erie, Pa., O. H. Perry's flotilla built at, 107–8.
Erie, Lake, 90–1, 95–6, 100, 102, 168, 170, 201, 211, 221, 314, 319, 396, 420; Battle of, 107–9.
Erie Canal, 174, 222, 295, 312, 314, 316.
Erie Co., erection and organization, 34.
Erie Plain, 121.
Erosion, 170.
Eruptions, skin, 351.
Esarey, L. B., cited, 92, 95–7, 101, 104, 107.
Espy, J. M., cited, 343, 393.
Etheridge, T., dentist, 355–6.
Europe and Europeans, 10, 115, 138, 248, 390, 407, 418; news of, in America, 76; market for potash, 150; Ohio Valley-made ships carry products to, 175; U. S. trade with, 230; politics, 357.
Eustis, William, cited, 92.
Evangelists, 362, 381.
Evans, John, cited, 277.
Evans, N. W., cited, 324.
Ewing, Thomas, orator at celebration of opening of canal program, 319; cited, 368, 388, 414; receives degree from Ohio University, 412.
Exchange, steamboat, 193.
Executive Documents, *see* Ohio Executive Documents.
Executive power, 16–7.
Eye-wash, 352.
Factories, 229, 259–61.
Factory system, 250.
Fairfield Co., 319, 350; erection and organization, 34; roads, 212; lumber, 233; hatters, 252; politics, 335; prosecuting attorney, 368; Germans in, 394–5.
Fairs, 262.
Falconer, J. I., cited, 151, 153–4, 157, 161, 164, 167–8, 170, 172.
Fallowing, 163.
Family life, 368–9.
Farces, 416.
Farm implements, 259.
Farmers, 10, 33, 41, 46, 63–4, 124, 135, 143, 146–72, 177, 242, 265, 292–3, 295, 319, 324, 367; given aid by Congress in land purchases, 291.
Farms, xii, 120–72, 230–1, 290, 293–4, 392.
Faro banks, 363.
Fashions, 402, 406.
Faux, William, cited, 169, 291–2, 398–400.
Favorite, British sloop of war, 118.
Fayette Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234.
Fearing, Paul, opposes Enabling Act, 4; Territorial representative, 7; MSS., cited, 14; member of Washington Benevolent Society, 114; sheep importer, 165.
Federalist Party and adherents, 42, 57–8, 60, 76, 98, 100, 117; oppose Enabling Act, 4; victorious in Washington Co., 7; in Jefferson Co., 9, 27; influence on Ohio Constitution, 16; pleased with results of Ohio Constitutional Convention, 23; favor ratification of Ohio Constitution by people, 24; nominate B. I. Gilman to run against E. Tiffin for governor, 26; candidate for representative in Congress, 30; power in Ohio, 32; object to repeal of common law act, 39; support R. J. Meigs for governor, 43; support S. Huntington for governor, 48; joined by moderate Republicans, 55; support D. Clinton, 61; approve Louisiana Purchase, 66; condemn President for calling militia against Spain, 68; thought to be implicated in a pro-British plot, 82; form Washington Benevolent Societies, 114; power wanes and dies, 296–7.
Fees, physician, 351.
Female Society of Cincinnati for Charitable Purposes, 385.
Fence-viewers, township, 35.

Ferguson, Joseph T., cited, 126.
Ferries, 207–8, 215; keepers, 10.
Fertilizer, 170.
Fevers, 338–40, 342–3, 348–9, 357, 361.
Field, Rev., 386.
Fighting, 362–4.
Finances, disaster, 262–95; canal, 318.
Findlay, James, 68; leads regiment in Detroit campaign, 88.
Fines, 347, 364–5.
Fink, Mike, 187.
Finley, James B., cited, 10, 94, 354, 373–5, 382–3; Wyandot mission, 385.
Firelands, 78, 126–7.
Fits, 357.
Five-per cent. fund, distribution of, 23.
Flatboats, river-craft, xii, 162, 173, 175–80, 182, 198–9, 225, 244, 292.
Flax, 165–7, 249.
Flint, Timothy, cited, 123–4, 171, 176 185, 187, 207, 397–8, 402.
Florida, annexation of, 86.
Flour, 156, 162, 164–5, 179, 233, 238, 241–5, 267, 315.
Flute, 407.
Food, 143–4, 152–3, 165, 240, 387.
Foot-washing, 378.
Footnotes, xiv.
Forceps, dental, 355.
Fordham, E. P., cited, 177.
Fords, 207.
Forests, 3, 120–3, 138, 142–3, 148, 154, 230–1, 236, 240, 254, 390–1, 419.
Forgery, 23, 365, 367.
Forges, 231, 255–6, 260.
Forrest, stage celebrity, 416.
Forster, William George, Lutheran minister, 394.
Forts, 100–1. *See also* names of forts.
Foster, Jeremiah J., ginseng dealer, 149.
Fourth of July celebration in 1811, 56; in 1824, 384.
Fowler, Capt. Jonathan, 157.
Fox, bridge builder, 215.
Fox, D. R., cited, 421.
France, 76; Treaty with, 66–8.
Frankfort, Ky., A. Burr trial at, 71.
Franklin, stage line, 217.
Franklin Co., 406; erection and organization, 30, 34; politics, 117, 335; wolves, 148; roads, 212.
Franklin Turnpike Co., 211.
Franklinton, 219; *Freeman's Chronicle,* cited, 105; W. H. Harrison holds conference with Indians at, 105–6; seat of disaffection for Madison administration, 113; roads, 210–1.
Frary, I. T., cited, 387.
Frasera carolinensis, 149.
"Fredonian," quoted, 69.
Free will, 371, 375, 378.
Freemasonry, 56.
Freight, 173–4, 179, 183–4, 210, 217, 219, 222, 315.
Fremont, site of Ft. Stephenson, 107.
French, Daniel, inventor of steamboat, 191–3.
French, intrigue, 99; in Ohio, 396.
French Creek, 369.
Frenchtown, massacre at, 97.
Frontier Wars MSS., cited, 89.
Fruit and fruit-trees, 167–9, 262.
Fulling-mills, 248–9.
Fulton, Robert, inventor of steamboat, 188–90, 193, 195.
Fulton Co., erection and organization, 34.
Furnaces, iron, 231, 254–5, 260.
Furniture, 143, 231, 239, 352.
Furs, 150, 252; trade, 147.
G. Washington, steamboat, 197.
Gaddis, M. P., cited, 375.
Gallatin, Albert, 65.
Gallia Co., erection and organization, 30, 34; Welsh in, 396.
Gallipolis, French in, 396.
Gambling, 362–4, 385.
Games, 404.
Gatch, Philip, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9.
Gates, Errett, cited, 380.
Gazlay, James, runs for State Senate against W. H. Harrison, 309.
Geauga Co., erection and organization, 34; land value, 132.
Geddes, James, engineer, 316.
Gellett, Joel, develops Rome Beauty apple, 168.
General Assembly, *see* Ohio General Assembly.
General Land Office, *see* U. S. General Land Office.
George, Lake, 113.
Georgetown, Ky., 260.
Georgia, taxes Bank of U. S., 301.
Gephart, W. F., cited, 196, 202–3.
Germans, in Lancaster, 350, 395; in Ohio, 370, 381, 394, 396.
Germany, 138, 394.
Gerry, Elbridge, 61.
Gerrymandering, 94.
Ghent, Treaty of, 118.
Gibbons, case, 190, 196.
Gillmore, John, ferry-owner, 208.
Gilman, Benjamin Ives, delegate from

Marietta to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 7, 9–10, 23; nominated Federalist candidate for governor, 26; stockholder in Bank of Marietta, 271.
Gilmore, W. E., cited, 8, 75.
Ginseng, 148–9.
Glades, Md., 160.
Glass, 141, 150, 236; ware, 226, 261; works, 259, 262.
Glauber's salts, 351.
Glove-making, 258.
Gnadenhutten settlement, 93.
Goethe, 417.
Goforth, William, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; interest in ginseng production, 149; nursery, 168–9; teacher of D. Drake, 344–5; credited as first in West to practise vaccination, 349–50; drug business, 351.
Gold, 284.
Gomer, Welsh in, 396.
Goodrich, S. G., cited, 207.
Goodwin, F. P., cited, 230.
Gorham, J. B., cited, 391.
Gout, 356.
Governor, *see* Ohio Governor.
"Gracchus," quoted, 300.
Grace, 375.
Grafting, 168–9.
Graham, A. A., cited, 141, 153.
Graham, John, agent of T. Jefferson to get evidence against A. Burr, 71–2.
Grain, 233. *See also* names of grains.
Grand River, 317.
Granger, Gideon, postmaster-general, 29, 45, 116, 209.
Grant, Rev., 386.
Granville, roads, 210–2, 221; forge, 256; Alexandrian Society of, 274; bankers, 275; settled by colonists from Granville, Mass., 370; Congregational Church in, 379; band, 407.
Granville, Mass., 370.
Grapes, 169–70.
Great Britain, *see* British *and* England.
Great Lakes, 221.
Greene Co., 78–9; erection and organization, 30, 34; meeting protesting Tammany Society, 59; politics, 117; lumber, 234; hatters, 252.
Greenville, roads, 221.
Greenville, Treaty of, 78, 92, 105; Line, 137.
Gregg, I., Capt., 192.
Greve, C. T., cited, 403.
Grist-mills, 241. *See also* Mills.
Griswold, Stanley, becomes judge in Michigan Territory, 66.
Groceries, 226.
Guernsey Co., 408; erection and organization, 34.
Guilford, Nathan, agitates for tax-supported school system, 321–2, 324.
Gunsmiths, 259.
Gurley, L. B., cited, 90.
Hacker, L. M., cited, 86.
Haines, Col., letter to, from E. A. Brown on canals, 314.
Hall, Dominick Augustin, judge, U. S. District Court, New Orleans, 196.
Hall, James, cited, 198.
Hamilton, Alexander, Federalist, 297; law instructor of E. A. Brown, 301, 312.
Hamilton, Daniel, 24.
Hamilton, *Miami Intelligencer,* cited, 56; Tammany Society, 57, 62; turnpike company, 213; stage line, 217; storekeepers in, 224; transportation, 225; *Miami Herald,* cited, 302, 327; *Gazette,* cited, 294, 311, 327.
Hamilton Co., politics, 6–7, 26, 117, 315, 335; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; against negro suffrage, 21; erection and organization, 34; meeting protesting Tammany Society, 59; flour inspector of, 156; grapes, 169; flour, 243; distilleries, 247; hatters, 252; glass, 259; population, 392; Germans in, 395.
Hamm, John, cited, 54, 95; member of Chillicothe Tammany Society, 57.
Hammond, Charles, opposes Tammany Society and E. Tiffin, 60; publisher of *Ohio Federalist,* 98; candidate for State Senate, 99; editorial comments, 100, 115–6; State senator from Belmont Co., 113; criticizes treaty with British, 119; on resumption of specie payment, 281; and Bank of U. S., 282–3, 297–9, 301, 303, 305, 310, 332; attorney for R. Osborn, 308.
Hamshire Co., Mass., 386.
Hancock Co., erection and organization, 34.
Handel, G. F., composer, 410.
Handel Society, 409.
Hanging Rock, ore, 255.
Hardin Co., erection and organization, 34.
Hardware, 226, 255.
Hardy, James, 350.
Harper, John L., collects tax from Chillicothe branch Bank of U. S., 306–7.

Harris, G. C., cited, 416.
Harris, T. M., cited, 179.
Harrison, William Henry, in Battle of Tippecanoe, 79; heads Kentucky militia, 91; attacks Ft. Wayne, 92; campaigns in War of 1812, 93–112; Battle of Thames, 100, 110–2; made major-general, 104; goes to New York and Washington, is criticized by J. Armstrong, and resigns, 113; against protective tariff, 262; on board of Cincinnati Branch Bank of U. S., 278; runs for State Senate, 309; elected to State Senate, 310; supports D. Drake in establishing State hospital for insane, 360.
Harrison, William Henry, Jr., receives degree from University of Cincinnati, 412.
Harrison Co., erection and organization, 34; squatters, 134; woolen mills, 250; population, 392.
Harrison Land Act of 1800, 64.
Harrow, 164.
"Hartford hymns," 376.
Harvesting, 152, 164.
Hats, 231, 252, 261.
Hatters, 259.
Havana, Cuba, Ohio-made boats in, 180.
Hawley, Mass., house raising in, 386.
Hay, 167, 171.
Haydn Society, 409.
Haynes, George, nursery, 169.
Headaches, 352.
Health, 338–61.
Heaton, James and Daniel, erect Hopewell Furnace, 255; develop malleable iron, 256.
Heliopolis, snag-boat, 197.
Hemp, 166–7, 179, 249, 267.
Henkel, Paul, Lutheran minister, 394.
Henry Co., erection and organization, 34.
Henry papers, seem to implicate leading Federalists in pro-British plot, 82.
Herbs, 150, 168, 347, 351.
Heresy, 381.
Hessian fly, 163, 170.
Heyl, pioneer, 141.
Hicks, C. B., cited, 367.
Highland Co., erection and organization, 34; bridge, 207; Germans in, 394.
Highways, *see* Roads.
Hildreth, Samuel Prescott, cited, 167, 180; house, illus., 182; as physician, 344; member Ohio General Assembly, 346.
Hinde, Thomas, exposes A. Burr's plans, 69.
Hines, inventor of flax dressing machine, 249.
Hippocrates, 348.
"Hippocrates," quoted, 348–9.
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, xiv; *Quarterly Publication*, cited, 68; cited, 197.
Historical Records Survey, cited, 33.
Historical Society, State, *see* Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Hixon, J. H., cited, 54.
Hoarhound, 168.
Hockhocking River, Methodist circuit, 374.
Hocking Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 335.
Hoes, 255.
Hog-bristles, 226.
Hogs, 39, 151, 154, 156–7, 161–2, 292.
Hogsheads, 238–9.
Holley, Horace, president of Transylvania University 386.
Hollow-ware, 255.
"Holmes," quoted, 218.
Holmes Co., erection and organization, 34; wheat, 162.
Hominy, 150, 153, 236.
Hoop-poles, 239.
Hooper, O. C., cited, 37, 395.
Hopewell Furnace, 255.
Horace, 376.
Horse-racing, 363–4, 385.
Horse-stealing, 365, 367.
Horticulture, 167.
Hospitals, 359–61.
Hough, Benjamin, Steubenville justice of the peace, 45.
Hough, Joseph, merchant, 224–6.
House of Representatives, *see* Ohio General Assembly House, *and* U. S. Congress House.
House raising, 386.
Howe, Henry, xiii; cited, 138, 144, 238, 401.
Howe, Thomas, on committee to draw up report on canals, 315.
Howells, W. C., cited, 245.
Hudson River, 221–2.
Hudson River Monopoly, 190.
"Hudson River School" of painters, 408.
Hulbert, A. B., cited, 179, 202.
Hull, General William, leads Ohio Militia in campaign against Detroit, 85; defeated in Detroit campaign, 88–9, 91–2, 94–6, 104–5, 408; order of march, illus., 90; advises War Department to gain control of Lake Erie, 109.

Hulme, Thomas, cited, 170.
Hunt, Jesse, importer, 184; suggests cooperative marketing for Miami Valley, 266.
Hunter, W. H., cited, 134, 250, 408.
Hunters, 147–8.
Huntington, C. C., cited, 264, 267–8, 272–3, 275–6, 289, 314.
Huntington, Samuel, 61, 202, 363; cited, 66; delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; chosen to sit on first Ohio Supreme Court, 28; Republican leader, 32; runs against Worthington for governor, 1808, 43, 47; declares act of legislature unconstitutional, 44; on judicial review, 45–6, 50; elected governor, 55; defeated in election for U. S. Senate, 1810, 58; chief justice of Ohio Supreme Court, 67; cited, 135, 341, 351.
Huron Co., erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; citizens of, denied bank charter, 275.
Husking-bees, 171, 404.
Hutchinson, T., cited, 127.
Hymns, 376–7, 381.
Illinois, 121, 291; roads, 217.
Immigration to Ohio, 119, 124–5, 130, 138, 146, 230, 259, 276, 370, 387, 394–5; illus., 207.
Impeachment trial of G. Tod and C. Pease, 44, 48–51, 54–5.
Impotence, 368.
Impressment of American seamen, 85, 100, 119.
Imprisonment, 38, 364.
India, silks from, 402.
"Indian" doctor, 356.
Indiana, 121; roads, 217.
Indiana Territory, Detroit attached to, 5; W. H. Harrison, governor of, 91.
Indians, 390; Tammany Society borrows from, 56; land claims, 63, 65; treaties, 78; incited by British in outrages against American settlements, 78–9, 81, 87; affairs discussed by T. Worthington with President, 83; conference with Worthington, 84; in War of 1812, 89–90, 92–3, 96–7, 101–3, 107, 110–2; in conference with W. H. Harrison, 105–6; campaigns against, 124; claims relinquished, 129–30; corn, leading crop of, 151; cattle purchased from, 158; endanger Ohio River travelers, 177; medical lore, 347; in Ohio in 1820, 396; drama, 417–8. *See also* names of tribes and individuals.
"Indiscriminate survey," 136.
Individualism, 420.
Industry, 99, 229–62, 312.
Industry, Fort, Treaty of, 78.
Inflation, 263–5, 270–1.
Influenza, 339.
Insane, hospitals for, 359–60.
Inspection, of food, 155–6; of flour, 164, 241, 244; laws, 162; of banks, 273.
Interior, Department of, *see* U. S. Department of Interior.
Intermitting fever, 339, 342–3, 357.
Internal improvements, 200, 296, 329–31.
Inventory of County Archives, 33.
Ipecac, 348.
Ireland, 10, 367, 393.
Irish, 397.
Iron, 254–6; ware, 226; works, 230, 233, 262.
Irwin, W. W., judge on Ohio Supreme Court, 54.
Israel, Joseph, editor of Zanesville *Express*, 99–100.
Jackson, Andrew, President of U. S., 118–9; in New Orleans, 191; Presidential candidate in election of 1824, 329–37.
Jackson Co., erection and organization, 34; millstones, 241; salt, 253–4; Welsh in, 396.
Jacksonian Democracy, in control of Federal Government, xi.
Jacksonville, forge, 256.
Jails, 365–6.
Jalap, 343, 348.
James, Capt. Harry, 89.
James, John, 89.
Jefferson, Thomas, President of U. S., 8, 32, 36, 45, 52, 65–6, 209, 311; terminates A. St. Clair's commission as governor of Northwest Territory, 13; may have wished slavery introduced in Ohio, 19; influence on Ohio Constitutional Convention, 20; phraseology of, in preamble of Ohio Constitution, 22; disconcerted over decision in judicial review case, 44; action in A. Burr Conspiracy, 69, 71–5; economic policy, 77, 162.
Jefferson Co., 39, 45, 250; politics, 6, 27, 30; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; erection and organization, 34; elects J. McMillan to State Senate, 113; post-offices, 209; distilleries, 245; population, 392.
Jeffersonian politics and adherents, 337; promote statehood, 4; in Virginia, 6; in Hamilton Co., 7; irk A. St. Clair, 13;

look to C. W. Byrd to draft Ohio Constitution, 16; triumphant with St. Clair's dismissal, 24; in Connecticut contrasted with those in Virginia, 32; in election of governor, 1808, 43; strengthened in Ohio by Louisiana Purchase, 66. *See also* Republicans.
Jeffords, John, Columbus cabinetmaker, 239.
Jernegan, M. W., cited, 55.
Jewelers, 258.
Jews, 395.
Johnny Appleseed, *see* Chapman, John.
"Johnson," commentator on morals of his times, 406.
Johnson, James, proprietor of mail-stage, 218.
Johnson, John, member of Canal Commission, 318.
Johnson, Col. R. M., arrives at Detroit with his cavalry, 110–1.
Jones, W. H., cited, 396.
Jones, William, president of U. S. Bank, 277–88.
Journal of American History, cited, 395.
Journalism, xii, 98.
Judges, 10, 15–6, 18, 28, 46–8, 51, 55, 155, 327, 399–400; terms of, 52–3.
Judicial review, xi, 32, 44–55.
"Judicial usurpation," 58.
Judiciary, 16, 18, 23, 27, 29, 51.
Juettner, Otto, cited, 149, 345–6, 350–1, 357, 360.
Justices of the peace, 35, 41, 45–6, 52.
Kant, Emanuel, 388.
Keel-boats, river-craft, 175, 185–6, 192, 225.
Kelley, Alfred, president of the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie, 286; member of canal commissions, 316–8.
Kennedy, W. S., cited, 379.
Kenton MSS., cited, 77, 79.
Kentucky, 134, 239, 337, 353, 393, 397; Constitution, 16; offers bounty lands to volunteers in Louisiana campaign, 68; land surveys, 136; ginseng, 149; Patton cattle brought to Ohio from, 158; slave labor of, causes decline of hemp industry in Ohio, 167; products shipped by Ohio River, 179; resents Fulton steamboat monopoly, 196; roads, 217, 221; wagon line from, 222; Bank of U. S. in, 269, 287, 301, 311; slaves from, in Ohio, 328; churches, 378.
"Kentucky boats," river-craft, 175, 177.
Kentucky Militia, 81, 91, 101–2, 108; at River Raisin, 97; ambushed at Ft. Meigs, 103; accompanies W. H. Harrison on expedition into Canada, 109.
Kentucky Resolution, 311.
Kentucky Revival, 371–2, 380, 382.
Kercheval, Robert, agent for non-resident landholders, 133–4.
Kerr, Joseph, cited, 93; imprisoned by Bank of Chillicothe, 292.
Kerr, Thomas, invents a mill, 242.
Kettles, 255.
Key, Francis Scott, defends J. Smith, 75.
Kilbourn, John, cited, 201, 275, 420.
Kilbourne, James, congressman, 1812, 94; heads Worthington Manufacturing Co., 221–3.
Killbuck Creek, 317.
Kilns, 238, 257.
Kimberly, Zenas, Federalist, upholds common law, 39–40.
King, Edward, cited, 327.
King, I. F., cited, 157.
King, M. P., composer, 410.
King, William, 350.
King's Mountain, Battle of, 108.
Kinnickinnick Creek, 242.
Kirker, Thomas, 78–9; delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 10; completes E. Tiffin's term as governor, 42–3; candidate for governor, 47; receives J. Smith's resignation from U. S. Senate, 75.
Kirtland brothers, 167.
Kitchell, Joseph, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8.
Kitchen equipment, 144.
Klippart, J. H., cited, 163.
Knabenshue, S. S., cited, 78.
Knox Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 335; Germans in, 395.
Kotzebue, August F. F. von, dramatist, 387.
Labor and laborers, 99, 162, 167, 171–2, 198, 230, 233, 367, 404; road, 206–7.
Ladders, 239.
Ladies' Repository, cited, 57, 203.
Lafever, Minard, architect, 387.
Lake Co., erection and organization, 34.
Lakes, 122. *See also* names of lakes.
Lambert, John L., Baptist minister, performs first recorded Caesarean section in West, 353.
Lancaster, 42, 76, 141; Tammany Society, 57; celebration of Louisiana Purchase, 66; roads, 200, 212; turnpike company, 213; flax industry, 249; bank, 273; first physician in, 350; capture of counter-

feiters at, 368; Lutherans in, 394–5; *Eagle,* 395.
Lancastrian schools, 359, 412.
Land, xii, 3, 81, 120–45, 159, 172; taxation, 5, 41, 216; grants, 6, 125, 316, 320–1; speculation, 9, 230, 232, 265, 291; system, national, 30; values, 30, 202; public, 37, 117–8, 127, 130, 202, 216, 290, 294, 320, 398; Indian claims, 63, 78; laws, 63–5; Act of 1820, 65, 290; divisions, 125–6; offices, 128–30, 145, 278; Act of 1800, 129; titles, 132–7.
Land, Commissioner of Public, *see* U. S. Commissioner of Public Lands.
Land, Surveyor-general of Public, *see* U. S. Surveyor-general of Public Lands.
Land Office, General, *see* U. S. General Land Office.
Landerback, Peter, case, 40.
Langham, Elias, candidate for representative in Congress, 30.
Larceny, 367.
Lard, 155–6, 238, 267.
Lathe, 238.
Latrobe, steam-engine, 250.
Laudanum, 356.
Lawrence, Perry's flagship disabled, 108–9.
Lawrence Co., erection and organization, 34; Rome Beauty apple developed in, 168; milling, 242; liquor consumption, 246.
Laws, 38–9, 51. *See also* Ohio Laws *and* U. S. Laws.
"Lawyer," quoted, 52.
Lawyers, 9, 46, 137, 359, 399–400.
Lead, 257–8.
Leahy, E. C., cited, 183, 187–8, 191.
Leather, 237, 400–1.
Lebanon, 224; bank, 273; Major Philips of, 354; population, 393.
Lectures, 411.
Lee, Richard, and Son, drugs, 351.
Leeches, 348.
Legislative supremacy, 44.
Legislature and legislation, 17–8, 23, 30, 32, 40–1, 50–1. *See also* Ohio General Assembly *and* U. S. Congress.
Leib, Michael, Philadelphia politician, 55.
Leonard, D. L., cited, 379.
Leopard, incident, 78.
Lepper, William D., editor Lisbon *Ohio Patriot,* 395.
Letters, xiii-xiv.
Lewis, partner of T. Worthington in cattle business, 158.
Lexington, Ky., 6, 221; A. Burr at, 69; mail, 218; medical school at, 344; newspapers, 417.
Liberty, 23.
Libraries, 369, 413–4.
Library, State, *see* Ohio State Library.
Library of Congress, *see* U. S. Library of Congress.
Licensing, of physicians, 346.
Licking Co., erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; roads, 212; lumber, 234; industries, 241–2; distilleries, 246; iron, 255; canals, 318; politics, 335; corporal punishment, 366; Congregationalists in, 370; Welsh in, 396.
Licking Furnace, 259.
Licking River, 168, 259; Falls of, 255.
Licking Summit, 217, 317–8.
Lightner, Lucy, felon, 366.
Limestone, 255.
Lincoln, Abraham, 339.
Lindley, Ephraim, cited, 205.
Lindley, Harlow, xiv.
Linen, 166, 248.
Linseed oil, 166, 247.
Linsey-woolsey, 249–50.
Lion, illus., 404.
Lippincott, Isaac, cited, 230.
Liquor, 226, 233, 262. *See also* Distilleries *and* Whiskey.
Lisbon, forge, 256; *Ohio Patriot,* 261–2, 294, 302, 328, 393, 395, 399; bank, 273.
Lister, township, 41.
Lithotomy, 354.
Little Miami River, 204, 373.
Liverpool, Eng., 179.
Livingston, Edward, 190; agent for Fulton-Livingston Company, 190, 195.
Livingston, Robert R., and Louisiana Purchase, 66; partner of R. Fulton in steamboat business, 188–90, 195–6.
Lloyd, Thomas, brings Tammany Society to Chillicothe, 55.
Lloyd, W. A., cited, 151, 153–4, 157, 161, 167–8, 170.
Loans, 268, 280, 283–4, 316.
Local government, 33, 35.
Locke, John, cited, 238.
Logan Co., 315; erection and organization, 34; distilleries, 245.
Log-chains, 255.
Log-rolling, 25, 142, 171, 404.
Löher, Franz, cited, 394.
London, Eng., fur market, 147.
Long-boat, 183.
Looker, Mrs., 253.

Looker, Othniel, acting governor, 1814, 116; candidate for governor against T. Worthington, 117.
Long, dyer, 253.
Longview Asylum, *see* Ohio Longview Asylum.
Longworth, Nicholas, fruit-grower, 169–70.
Looms, 248, 258.
Lorain Co., erection and organization, 34, 333.
Lord's Supper, 380.
Louisiana, 67–8, 188, 385; grants Fulton-Livingston Company monopoly, 190; J. Smith moves to, 75; R. J. Meigs, a judge in Territory of, 43; Purchase, 66, 174, 280.
Louisiana of Marietta, ship, 179.
Louisville, Ky., 150, 226; Falls at, 68, 174, 186, 193; shipping, 184, 187, 189–90, 194–5, 243; navigation, 191–2; mail, 218; newspapers, 417.
Lovell, Capt., 181.
Lower Sandusky, W. H. Harrison at, 104.
Lowry, Fielding, agent for J. Smith, 135.
Lucas Co., erection and organization, 34.
Ludlow, William, nursery, 169; motto over door of first State-house in Columbus, illus., 300.
Lumber, 231, 233–4, 238–9.
Lundy, Benjamin, publisher of *Philanthropist,* 385.
Luther, Martin, 381.
Lutherans, 394.
Lynch, Jonathan, 350.
M., T. J., "Address to the River Ohio," 419.
McAlpin, William, cited, 320.
McArthur, Duncan, 6, 83, 133; cited, 38, 68, 76, 82; charges political chicanery, 53; desires to speculate in Louisiana lands, 67; MSS., 79, 112–3, 118, 298, 325, 336–7; leads regiment in Detroit campaign, 88; elected to Congress, 1812, 94; made major-general, 104; takes Malden and Sandwich, 110; occupies Detroit, 112; quarrels with R. J. Meigs, 112; makes a foray into Upper Canada, 113; nursery, 169; presents claims of Chillicothe to directors of Bank of U. S., 277; on board of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 278; reports to directors of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S. action of Ohio House, 298–9.
McArthur, T. J., 336–7.
McBride, James, partner of J. Hough, merchant, 225; cited, 414.
McClelland, C. P., cited, 314.
M'Clelland, John, doctor, 357.
M'Coy, John, 150.
McCulloch, case, 301, 303–5, 311.
McDowell, Dr. Ephraim, removes ovarian tumor, 353.
McFaddon, Daniel, sues B. Rutherford, 45; case, 49–50.
McFarland, John, adopts Lancastrian method for Chillicothe academy, 412.
McFarland, Moses, boat-owner, 181.
McGill, C. E., cited, 202.
McIntire, John, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 7, 9.
Mackinaw, Fort, 89.
McLandburgh, John, cited, 116.
MacLean, J. P., cited, 381.
McLean, John, on Ohio Supreme Court, 40; elected to Congress, 1812, 94; postmaster-general, 209; supports J. C. Calhoun in Ohio, 330.
McMaster, J. B., cited, 305.
McMillan, James, elected State senator from Jefferson Co., 113.
McMillan, Thomas, moves to consider taxing branches of Bank of U. S., 298.
McMillan, William, candidate for representative in Congress, 30.
McNemar, Richard, cited, 380–1.
Macon, Nathaniel, 65; advises T. Worthington about state government, 17–8.
M'Pherrin, Samuel, hatter, 252.
Mad River, 134; Methodist circuit, 374.
Madison, James, sponsored by Tammany leaders in Ohio, 61, 94; E. Tiffin in confidence of, 65, 117; as U. S. secretary of state, 71; economic policy, 77, 162; on prospects for war with Britain, 79; J. Armstrong in cabinet of, 104.
Madison, case, 44.
Madison Co., erection and organization, 34.
Magazines, 362.
Magistrates, 14.
Mahoning Co., erection and organization, 34.
Mahoning River and Valley, 317; iron industry, 255.
Mail, *see,* U. S.
Mail-stages, 218.
Maiming, 38, 365.
Malaria, 124, 338, 340–3, 347, 361.
Malden, Fort, in War of 1812, 89, 95–6, 101, 104, 106, 108–10.
Manganese, 258.
"Manifest destiny," 81.

Mansfield, Edward, cited, 344–5, 359.
Mansfield, 78.
Manslaughter, 354.
Manufacturing, 10, 77, 172, 175, 222–3, 228–63, 265, 276, 329, 413.
Manuscripts, xi, xiii.
Maple-sugar, 226, 238.
Maps, xiv.
Marble Furnace, 256.
Marbury, case, 44.
Maria, schooner, 181–2.
Marietta, 4, 9, 26, 42–3, 69, 82, 88, 128, 147, 165, 181, 344, 346, 349, 369; shipbuilding, xii, 10, 167, 175, 178; politics, 6–7; newspapers, 36–7; J. Graham at, 71; boats built for A. Burr at, 72; officers seize supplies of H. Blennerhassett at, 73; land-office, 129–30, 145; E. Cutler drives cattle East from, 157, 159; J. Chapman at, 168; buildings, 1825, illus., 180; port of clearance, 179, 182; roads, 200; Bank, 268, 271; property values, 294; canals, 316–7, 325; Congregationalists in, 379.
Marietta College Library, cited, 14.
Marion Co., erection and organization, 34.
Maritime rights, 86.
Markets, 116, 146–8, 152, 156–7, 159, 161–2, 164, 167, 169, 173–4, 198, 223, 225, 228, 241, 244, 251, 264, 292, 295, 312, 319, 329.
Marsh, J., composer, 410.
"Marsh effluvia," 340.
Marshall, John, and judicial review, 32, 44–5, 50, 52; C. Hammond before, 283; and Bank of U. S., 302, 307, 309.
Martin, W. T., cited, 298.
Martineau, Harriet, describes western clothing, 400.
Martzolff, C. L., cited, 138, 202, 368, 394.
Maryland, 94, 158, 393–4; markets, 160; invests capital in Ohio industries, 229; taxes branches of Bank of U. S., 301.
Maryland, case, 301, 308.
Masons, 171.
Massachusetts, 321, 390, 393; Merino sheep imported to Ohio from, 165; invests capital in Ohio industries, 229.
Massie, David M., 350; cited, 42–3.
Massie, Henry, 133.
Massie, Nathaniel, 9, 12, 32, 133, 343; leader in fight for statehood, 6; president of Ohio Senate, 27; runs against R. J. Meigs for governor, 42–3; dispute with Meigs, 47, 58; opposes Tammany Society, 59; delays action of Ohio House in passing act to prevent A. Burr plot, 72; as farmer, 167–8; MSS., cited, 169, 260, 350; cited, 202.
Mathews, Increase, sheep importer, 165.
Mathews, Phineas, 147.
Maumee Rapids, Treaty of, 78.
Maumee River and Rapids, 96–8, 100–1, 103–4, 106, 316.
May, John, 128.
Maysville, Ky., 82, 345; mail-stage, 218.
Meadville, Penn., 369.
Means, Robert, 79.
Measles, 339–40, 348–9.
Meat-handling, 155, 230, 240.
Medical College of Ohio, 344, 359-60.
Medical districts, 346.
Medical schools, xii, 344, 346, 359–60.
Medical Society of the State of Ohio, 346.
Medicine, 338–361.
Medina Co., 205; erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; lumber, 234; grist-mills, 241; politics, 333.
Meigs, Return, Jonathan, Jr., 66; defeated as delegate from Marietta to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 7; Republican leader in Washington Co., 26, 32, 37; chosen to sit on first Ohio Supreme Court, 27; elected governor, 1807, but defeated by technicality, 42–3; dispute with N. Massie, 47; runs against T. Worthington for governor in 1810, 57; elected governor, 1810, 58; obtains judgeship in Upper Louisiana, 67; appointed colonel in Ohio Militia, 68; elected to U. S. Senate to fill seat of J. Smith, 75; advised by T. Worthington, 84; prepares for expedition toward Detroit before hostilities begin in 1812, 85; MSS., cited, 88; charged with conspiracy in W. Hull's defeat, 88; calls for volunteers, 90–1; cited, 93; quarrels with D. McArthur, 112; resigns as governor to accept postmaster-general's office, 116; as postmaster-general, 209; personal check signed by, facsim., 268; recommends erection of penitentiary, 367.
Meigs, Fort, built, 98; in War of 1812, 100–2, 104–6, 116.
Meigs Co., erection and organization, 34; salt, 254.
Meine, F. J., cited, 187.
Mennesieur, innkeeper and lawyer of Cincinnati, 357.
Mercantile business, 184, 221.
Mercer Co., erection and organization, 34.

Merchants, 10, 77, 199, 222–7, 251–2, 265, 351.
Methodists, 12, 370–3, 375–6, 378–81, 383, 385, 406; Western Conference, 374; Ohio Conference, 385.
Mexico, 69.
Mexico, Gulf of, 180, 192.
Miami country and valley, 95, 134; cattle, 157, 160; soil, 163; produce exported, 198, 236; flour, 244; cooperative marketing, 266; canals, 317, 325; politics, 333, 335; health conditions, 339; religion, 372; people of, characterized, 388–9; Germans in, 394.
Miami Co., 393; erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234.
Miami Exporting Co., 266–7, 273, 289.
Miami River, 5, 128, 134–6, 201, 225, 316; Methodist circuit, 374.
Miami University, 411–2, 420; Library, cited, 392.
Michaux, F. A., cited, 139, 148–9, 165.
Michigan, Lake, 5, 91.
Michigan Historical Commission, *Historical Collections*, cited, 110.
Michigan Territory, 66; R. J. Meigs appointed a judge in, 43; S. Griswold, Federal judge in, 85.
Microscopes, 348.
Middleburg, forge, 256.
Military affairs, xiii.
Military Bounty Lands, 127, 320.
Militia, 17–8, 68, 77, 81, 85, 90–1, 93, 96, 99, 101, 104–5, 112, 116, 214; called to intercept H. Blennerhassett, 73; massacred at River Raisin, 97. *See also* Kentucky Militia *and* Ohio Militia.
"Milk-sick," 339.
Mill, Peter, flour inspector, 156; cited, 244.
Mill Creek, 156, 169.
Mill machinery, 258.
Miller, E. A., cited, 320–1.
Miller, J. M., cited, 412, 420.
Miller, Col. John, breaks British siege of Ft. Meigs, 104.
Millers, 163–4, 242–4, 259, 265.
Mills, E. C., cited, 355.
Mills, 10, 229–34, 237, 239–42, 250.
Millstones, 241.
Millwrights, 238.
Mineral, 230–1, 253, 256; springs, 347; water, 352.
Ministerial Lands, Supervisor of, *see* Ohio Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands.
Ministers, 359, 362, 370–6, 378, 380–2, 385, 394, 398, 406.
Minnigerode, Meade, cited, 69.
Minor, Isaac, member of canal commissions, 316, 318.
Mint, *see* U. S. Mint.
Missionaries, 378, 385.
Missionary societies, 362.
Missions, 384.
Mississippi, 226.
Mississippi River, 76, 177–8, 180, 185, 188, 190–1, 195, 197, 225, 244.
Mississippi Valley, earthquake, 189; mail, 208; diseases, 340.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, cited, 370.
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, cited, 39–40, 44, 55, 86, 102.
Missouri, 291; question, 328, 331; bill, 332.
Mitchell, M. J., cited, 370.
Mitchell, case, 40.
Money, 134, 146–7, 214, 223–4, 230, 240, 262, 275, 279, 282, 293.
Monongahela River, 191–2, 224.
Monopoly, 188, 190, 195.
Monroe, James, 66; U. S. secretary of state, 118.
Monroe Co., 137; erection and organization, 34.
Montgomery Co., erection and organization, 30, 34; wheat, 242; carding- and fullings-mills, 250; population, 392; Germans in, 394.
Moore, John, case, 40.
Moore, William H., on committee to report on canals, 315.
Morals, 383–5, 398, 406.
Moravian Indian missions, 93, 105.
Morgan Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234; salt, 254.
Morrow, Jeremiah, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8; reports Jefferson's remarks about Ohio Constitution, 20; first Ohio representative to Congress, 30; sponsors extension of credit to land buyers in Ohio, 64; serves on Committee on Public Lands, 65; favors war with Britain, 82; confers with Indians at Piqua, 92; candidate for U. S. Senate, 1812, 95; on commission to study problem of canal construction, 316; opens canal-building program, 1825, 318; candidate for governor, 1820, 326; elected governor, 327, 333.
Morrow, Josiah, cited, 31.

Morrow Co., erection and organization, 34.
Mortality, 339–40.
Mortimer, Benjamin, cited, 93.
Mosquito, 341, 361.
Mt. Pleasant, Quakers, 10, 381; bank, 273; first antislavery paper published at, 385.
Mt. Vernon, roads, 211; freight cost, 222; Owl Creek Bank, 274–5.
Mozart, W. A., composer, 410.
Munsell, Leander, first native Ohioan to be member of Ohio legislature, 393.
Murder, 23, 38, 367.
Museum, State, *see* Ohio State Museum.
Museums, xiii, 239, 259, 411.
Music, 405, 407–11, 416.
Muskingum Co., 315; erection and organization, 34; politics, 57; wheat, 163; sheep, 165; salt, 254; iron, 255; pottery, 257–8; glass, 259.
Muskingum River, 5, 7, 10, 72, 129, 142, 168, 201, 316–9, 372; Methodist circuit, 374.
Muskingum Valley, 147; politics, 6; nurseries, 167; produce exported, 198; population, 392.
Muslin, 402.
Nails, 255.
Napoleon, 36, 66, 76, 78; defeat, 114.
Napoleonic Wars, 165, 230.
Nashee, George, editor of Chillicothe *Supporter*, 37.
Nashville, Tenn., 409.
Natchez, navigation to, 183, 185, 187, 189, 192, 194.
Natchez Trace, 183, 226.
National character, 397–8.
National honor, 87, 99.
National Intelligencer, 67.
National Road, 211, 216–7, 219, 222, 280, 295, 312, 319.
Navigation, 173–99.
Needle-maker, 260.
Negroes, 8, 18, 21, 384, 396–7.
Nevins, Allen, cited, 398.
New Boston, Tammany Society, 57.
New England, 159, 386; political influence in Ohio, 32–3; not enthusiastic for War of 1812, 86; politics, 1824, 329.
New Englanders in Ohio, 7, 10, 27, 47, 138, 152, 319–20, 331, 333, 370, 372, 379, 393.
New Hampshire, 393.
New Jersey, 345, 367, 393.
New Lights, *see* Christians, sect.
New Lisbon, *see* Lisbon.
New Market, 204.
New Orleans, 200; proposed expedition against, 68; A. Burr's plan to seize, 72; J. Smith leaves for, 73–4; market, 152–3, 156, 161–2, 164, 169, 173–4, 223, 225, 261, 265, 267, 295; river traffic, 178, 180, 182–7, 189, 192–5, 198; *Gazette*, 187; British in, 191; freight costs, 199; trade, 239, 243–4, 253, 408; A. Jackson, hero of, 330.
New Orleans, steamboat, 188, 190.
New Orleans boats, river-craft, 175, 177–8, 188.
New York, city, 188, 318, 373; Tammany Society, 55; visited by W. H. Harrison, 113; news of signing of Treaty of Ghent arrives in, 118; market, 156, 295; trade, 173, 221–2, 315; Ohio-made ship to sail for, 180; industries, 229; Ohio canals financed in, 316.
New York, state, 393; sector in War of 1812, 112; canals, 314; politics, 1824, 329.
Newark, roads, 210–1; canals, 221, 317–8; *Advocate*, cited, 333, 337.
Newman, A. H., cited, 378.
Newspapers, xi-xiv, 36, 38, 100, 115, 124, 166, 209, 217, 294, 328, 385, 417. *See also* names of newspapers under cities.
Newtown, 204.
Niagara, ship, boarded by O. H. Perry after *Lawrence* is disabled, 109.
Niles, forge, 256.
Niles' National Register, cited, 116, 166.
Noble Co., erection and organization, 34.
Non-intercourse Act, 77.
Norfolk, Va., Ohio-made ship arrives at, 179.
North Carolina, 89; Republicans in, 17; taxes Bank of U. S., 301.
Northrop, N. B., cited, 205.
Northwest Territory, 22, 63; struggle for statehood in, 3–4, 12; capital, 10; political struggle of, reflected in Ohio Constitution, 14; first library, 414.
Northwestern Army, 95, 116; W. H. Harrison in command, 92.
Norton, Carlos, clerk of Ohio Senate, 60, 62; cited, 59, 94–5.
Norton, wagon line, 222.
Nullification, xi, 307.
Nurseries, 167–9.
Oats, 163, 167, 241.
Obstetrics, 345.
Office-holders, State, 23, 27.
Ogden, G. W., cited, 241.
Ogden, case, 190, 196.

Ohio, politics and government, 3–87, 296–337; in War of 1812, 88–119; farm lands, 120–45; agriculture, 146–72; waterways, 173–99; roads, 200–28; industries, 229–62; economic depression, 262–95; medicine, 338–61; religion, and social reform, 362–86; civilization and culture, 387–421.
Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin*, cited, 151, 153–4, 157, 161, 167–8, 170.
Ohio Auditor, 126, 272; sued for collecting tax on Bank of U. S. in Ohio, 304–11.
Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners, 317–8.
Ohio Board of Canal Fund Commissioners, 318.
Ohio Canal, 174, 312.
Ohio Capitol, Chillicothe, xi, 2–3, 10, 272; Zanesville, illus., 53; cited, 80, 313; Columbus, first, 298, 300, 414.
Ohio Church History Society, *Papers*, cited, 379.
Ohio Company, 129, 325; Purchase, 9, 32, 128.
Ohio Constitution, 3, 13–25, 31, 33, 35, 38, 43–6, 51–2, 327, 395; 1802, Preamble of, facsim., 22.
Ohio Constitutional Convention, 37; adopts Constitution, 5–24; Journal, cited, 13, 18; makes nominations for first State offices, 25; members of, in first Ohio government, 27; indicates choice of first U. S. senators, 30.
Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, *Final Report*, cited, 125.
Ohio Executive Documents, 243–4, 351.
Ohio General Assembly, 14–5, 47, 66, 131, 203, 272, 292, 302, 304, 317, 320, 335, 380, 413; court officials appointed by, 16, 33; first, 25–7, 31; erects eight new counties, 30; selection of nominees for, 36; sets up committee to compile criminal code, 38; votes R. J. Meigs as not eligible to be governor, 43; clashes with Ohio Supreme Court, 44–6; influenced by Tammany Society, 59; passes act to prevent A. Burr plot, 72; resolves that J. Smith should resign his place in U. S. Senate, 74; approves prospect of war with Britain, 80; perturbed over manner of conducting congressional election of 1812, 94; assumes burden of Ohio's proportion of the direct tax for War of 1812, 115; regulates adjustment of claims on property with imperfect titles, 136; passes act to eradicate squirrels, 147; sets millers' tolls, 242; acts to exempt Ohio industries from taxation, 262; appoints bank inspectors, 273; surveys banks, 1819, 289; votes to tax branches of Bank of U. S., 298–9; act of, on taxing Bank of U. S., declared unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme Court, 309; remedies banking system, 310; withdraws protection of law from Bank of U. S., 311; gives moral support to New York in canal-building program, 314; and canals in Ohio, 316; of 1824–25, progressive, 324–6; resolves to call a constitutional convention, 1819, 327; instructs Ohio congressmen to vote against extension of slavery in territories, 328; acts to regulate practise of medicine, 346; establishes State hospital for insane at Cincinnati, 360; corporal punishment debated by, 366; asked to build penitentiary, 367; divorces granted by, 368; of 1822, 393; authorizes Ohio Laws printed in German, 395; grants charters to colleges, 411.
Ohio General Assembly House, *Journal*, cited, 39, 45, 47–9, 74, 289, 299, 301, 304, 310, 315.
Ohio General Assembly Senate, *Journal*, cited, 26, 43, 50, 272, 314; trial of G. Tod before, 50–1; C. Hammond elected to, 99, 113; A. Trimble, speaker of, 326.
Ohio Governor, 14–5, 304; E. Tiffin as first, 12; first election of, 25–6; attempt to interest T. Worthington to run for, 37; E. Tiffin reelected, 41; R. J. Meigs elected, 1807, 42; election of 1808, 43; S. Huntington elected, 48; T. Worthington as, 84; E. A. Brown as, 300, 312–5; supports canal program, 315; A. Trimble elected, 326–7. *See also* names of governors.
Ohio Historical Collections, cited, 4, 412.
Ohio History Conference, 344.
Ohio Journal of Science, cited, 120, 122.
Ohio Laws, 38, 40–1, 52, 72, 127, 131, 148, 162, 164, 199, 206, 208, 213, 232, 242, 262, 266, 268, 270, 272–4, 307, 346, 360, 368, 395.
Ohio Legislature, *see* Ohio General Assembly.
Ohio Longview Asylum, State hospital for insane at Cincinnati, established, 359–60.
Ohio Militia, under E. Tupper, 96.
Ohio Penitentiary, 366–7.

Ohio River, 5, 22, 93, 149, 159, 196, 198, 201–2, 276, 290, 353, 397, 410; boundary of Ohio, 4; navigation, 68, 186, 188, 193, 197, 225; as base line in survey, 136; F. A. Michaux on, 139; traffic on, 143, 161, 173, 177, 185, 191, 223–4, 231; J. Chapman on, 168; Falls, 174, 243; floating mills on, 240; connected to Lake Erie by canals, 314; boatmen, 361; poem about, 419.
Ohio Secretary of State, 14; cited, 13, 22, 334; first, 27.
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, cited, 4–5, 15, 28–9, 55, 73, 78, 88, 93, 99, 102, 113, 125–6, 132, 134, 138, 140, 154, 157, 202, 224, 235, 247, 250, 256, 264, 320, 344, 346–7, 349, 355, 360, 366–8, 381, 388, 394, 396, 408, 414.
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Library, xiv, 147, 169, 222, 233, 367; Committee on Archives and Medical History, cited, 344.
Ohio State Board of Agriculture, *Report,* cited, 155.
Ohio State Library, xiv; cited, 18, 54, 88, 135, 202, 314; founded by T. Worthington, 414.
Ohio State Museum, cited, 53, 84, 257, 268, 274–5, 285, 300; Woodbridge-Gallaher Collection, cited, 70.
Ohio State Reports, cited, 40.
Ohio State University, 387; Dept. of Fine Arts, xiv, 182; Library, cited, 54, 416.
Ohio Steam-Boat Navigation Company, 190.
Ohio Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands, cited, 126.
Ohio Supreme Court, 14–6, 43–4, 55, 88, 94; personnel of first, 27–9; recognizes no common law crimes in Ohio, 40; sessions, 41; and judicial review, 45–6; personnel in 1810, 54; reorganization, 312; defects of, 327; divorces granted by, 368.
Ohio Treasurer, 14, 131, 203, 273, 308, 311.
Ohio University, president, 384; granted charter, 411–2; role, 420.
Ohio Valley, economic conditions, 172; guide-books, 176; value of steamboats to, 191, 195; mail, 208; wheat, 241.
Ohio Valley Historical Series, Miscellanies, cited, 343.
O'Keeffe, John, *The Poor Soldier,* 415.
Old Northwest, 86.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly, cited, 31, 93, 222.
Ontario, Lake, 106, 110, 113.
Opium, 342–3, 348, 354.
Orchards, 167–9.
Orchestra, 416.
Ordinance of 1785, 320.
Ordinance of 1787, 4, 46; prohibits slavery in Ohio, 8, 20.
Orleans, steamboat, 188–91.
Osborn, Ralph, State auditor, 272; and the tax on Bank of U. S., 304–10.
Ottawa Co., erection and organization, 34.
Ovarian tumor, 353.
Overman, William, xiv.
Overseers of the poor, township, 35.
Oxen, 171; advertisement, 161.
Pacific, 136.
Pack-horses, 202, 219.
Packing business, 155–6.
Paddy's Run, 379; Welsh at, 396.
Painesville, 211; *Telegraph,* cited, 330.
Paint Creek, 123, 142, 203, 215; Falls, 202.
Painters, landscape, 408.
Paints, 352.
Panic of 1819, xi, 63, 211, 213–4, 230, 251, 259, 262–95, 310.
Paper mills, 224, 259–60.
Paper money, 276, 280, 294; illus., 274–5, 285.
Papers from the Historical Seminar of Brown University, cited, 55.
Parade order, illus., 106.
Paragon, steamboat, 193.
Parkman, forge, 256.
Pasture, 123, 160.
Patent medicines, 351, 356–7, 359.
Paterson, R. G., cited, 360.
Patterson, John, 403.
Patterson Papers, cited, 92.
Patton, John, stockman, 158.
Paul, John, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8.
Paulding Co., erection and organization, 34.
Paupers, 35.
Peaches, 168.
Peale, Charles W., cited, 80.
Pearlash, 149–50, 235–6.
Pears, 168.
Pease, Calvin, judge in court of common pleas, 28; first to declare an act of Ohio legislature unconstitutional, 44–5; supports S. Huntington for governor, 48; impeachment proceedings against,

48; impeachment trial, 51; on judicial review, 52, 54; cited, 214–5.
Peattie, Roderick, cited, 254.
Peddlers, 359.
Penitentiary, *see* Ohio Penitentiary.
Pennsylvania, 201, 335, 372; source of settlers for Ohio, 10, 27, 167, 367, 387, 393–5; boundary of Ohio, 4; Constitution, serves as model for Ohio, 16; cattle imported to Ohio from, 157; ship-building in western region of, 224; industries, 229; convention of banks of, 281; supports A. Jackson, 331; University, 344, 346; Presbyterians in, 379; Welsh in, 396.
Pennyroyal, 168.
Perjury, 367.
Perkins, Simon, in command of troops from Western Reserve, 90; on resumption of specie payments, 279, 281.
Perry, Oliver H., victory of, 100, 105, 107–10, 113.
Perry Co., erection and organization, 34; Germans in, 394.
Perrysburg, scene of defense of Ohio from invasion in War of 1812, 104.
Peruvian bark, *see* Quinine.
Peter Parley, *see* Goodrich, S. G.
Peters, William, cited, 125.
Philadelphia, 182, 269, 367, 396, 409; E. Tiffin at, 12; Tammany Society, 55; fur market, 147; ginseng market, 149; cattle market, 157, 292; trade, 173, 222, 225; salt market, 179; T. Worthington in, 277; Bank of U. S. at, 283–4, 288–9; D. Drake at, 346; yellow fever epidemic in, 348.
Philanthropist, antislavery paper, 385; cited, 261, 327–8.
Philips, Major, of Lebanon, operated on for stone, 354.
Philomathic Athenaeum and Circulating Library, 414–5.
Philosophers, 398.
Photographs, xiv.
Phthisis, 356.
Physicians, xii, 9, 12, 338–61.
Pianos, 258, 408–9.
Piatt, John H., merchant of Cincinnati, 116; bank, 274; on board of Cincinnati branch Bank of U. S., 278.
Pickaway Co., 366; erection and organization, 34; Germans in, 395.
Pickaway Plains, 123–4, 294, 357.
Pike Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234.
Pills, 351.
Piqua, W. H. Harrison at, 92; land-office, 129–30.
Pitcher, M. A., cited, 73.
Pittsburgh, Pa., 396; cheese market, 161; trade, 166, 190, 192, 223, 225; crossroads of West, 174; products, 175; boat-building, 176, 198; freight rates, 183; first steamboat voyage from, 187, 189; N. J. Roosevelt at, 188; H. M. Shreve navigates steamboat from New Orleans to, 191; glass, 259; Branch Bank of U. S., 285–6; medical supplies from, 351.
Plains, 123, 390.
Plaster of Paris, 258.
"Play-parties," 404–5.
Plows, 151; shares, 231, 255.
Plumb, C. S., cited, 154.
Plums, 168.
Pneumonia, 339.
Poetry, 205–6, 415, 418–9.
Poland, 157; nursery, 167.
Poland-China hog, development in Ohio, 154.
Political campaigns, 36. *See also* Elections, Votes, *and* names of parties, offices, *and* persons.
Political parties, 35. *See also* Federalist Party and adherents; Jeffersonian politics and adherents; *and* Republicans.
Politicians, 359. *See* names of persons.
Politics, xi, xiii-xiv, 3–119, 296–337, 393. *See also* Elections, *and* Votes; *also* names of political units, persons *and* parties.
Pony express, 208.
Pope, Alexander, 405.
Population, 4, 26, 33, 128, 230, 246, 296, 317, 334–5, 346, 390–5, 397, 420; distribution of, in 1810, map, 49; distribution of in 1820, map, 220; Indian, 396; colored, 397.
Pork, 152–6, 179, 238, 241, 245, 249, 267, 293, 295, 387.
Portage Co., erection and organization, 34; land values, 132; lumber, 234; politics, 333.
Porter, Mr., 204.
Portsmouth, 199; river freight to, 199; canals, 316–9; *Scioto Telegraph*, cited, 328.
Post-office, U. S., *see* U. S. Post-office.
Postal rates, 209.
Postmaster-general, *see* U. S. Postmaster-general.
Potash, 143, 149–50, 235–6, 238.
Potassium carbonate, *see* Pearlash.

Potassium hydroxide, *see* Potash.
Potomac River, 157, 160.
Pottery, 256–9.
Poultices, 349.
Power, water, 232.
Prairies, 122–4.
Pratt, J. W., cited, 86.
Preble Co., erection and organization, 34.
"Preceptor" system of medical education, 345.
Predestination, 378.
Presbyterians, 30, 371–3, 376; unite with Congregationalists, 379; back reform group in Chillicothe, 383.
Preserves, 262.
President, U. S., *see* U. S. President.
Presque Isle, in War of 1812, 104.
Press, freedom of, 23; importance in politics, 37.
Prevost, George, commander of British forces in Canada, 106.
Prices, 116, 166, 292, 294; farm land, 129; ginseng, 148; roots, 149; potash, 150; whiskey, 153, 246–7; cattle, 158–60; cheese, 161; butter, 162; wool, 165; hemp, 167; boats, 176–7; alkalies, 236; flour, 243, 315.
Prince, B. F., cited, 394.
Princeton Theological Seminary, 385.
Printing, State, 37.
Proctor, Henry, in War of 1812, 97–8, 101–7, 109–11.
Products, 116, 123, 134, 142, 146–73, 175, 185, 223, 225, 229, 231, 236, 249, 252, 265, 314, 329.
Prosecuting attorney, county, 33.
Prosperity, 264–5, 295.
Protective tariff, *see* Tariff.
Protestants, 375.
Provincialism, 393.
Psalms, 376.
Public health, xii.
Public lands, *see* Land.
Public schools, *see* Schools.
Punishment, 23, 38, 362; corporal, 364–6.
Pumpkins, 152.
Purcell, R. J., cited, 379.
Purges, 348.
Puritans, 363.
Purviance, David, New Light leader, 380.
Put-in-Bay, O. H. Perry at, 108, 110.
Putnam, Edwin, editor of Zanesville *Express*, 99–100.
Putnam, Rufus, delegate from Marietta to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 7, 9, 23; member of Washington Benevolent Society, 114; cited, 128; sheep importer, 165; nursery, 167–9.
Putnam, 165; Washington Benevolent Society, 114.
Putnam Co., erection and organization, 34.
Quackery, medical, 344, 346–7, 356.
Quaife, M. M., cited, 40, 88.
Quakers, 10, 331, 370, 381, 397.
Quebec, 81.
"Querist," *see* Blennerhassett, Harman.
Quids, 54–5, 57.
Quillin, F. U., cited, 396.
Quilting parties, 404.
Quinine, 341–4, 351.
Radcliffe, Stephen, 260.
Radnor, Welsh in, 379, 396.
Railroads, 174, 198, 205, 223.
Raisin River, massacre at, 97–8, 103.
Ramsay, John, cited, 258.
Randall, E. O., cited, 31, 69, 71–3, 320.
Rape, 38, 365, 367.
Rapid Forge, 215.
Ratel, M., dancing academy, 405; music teacher, 409; organizes orchestra, 416.
Ravenna, roads, 211.
Recorder, county, 33.
Recreation, *see* Amusements.
Red Peruvian bark, *see* Quinine.
Red River, rapids of, 192.
"Red River raft," 197.
Red ware, illus., 257.
Redmen, Tammany Society's ritual imitates, 56.
Redstone, Pa., *see* Brownsville, Pa.
Referendum, first use of, 327.
Reform, 362, 383.
Refugee Tract, Canadians in, 125, 127.
Reily, John, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8.
Relics, xiii.
Religion, xii, 362, 369–86, 393, 396, 398.
Religious freedom, 23.
Remitting Fevers, 339, 342.
Renick, Felix, stock-breeder, 154, 292; cited, 143, 401.
Renick, George, stockman, 157; on board of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 278.
Renick, William, stockman, 292; cited, 157, 161, 292, 294.
Representation, 17.
Republicans, 37–8, 47, 94, 115; in Hamilton Co., 7; victorious in Hamilton and Ross counties, 8–9; in North Carolina, 17; select E. Tiffin for governor, 26; elect first U. S. senators from Ohio, 30;

two varieties of, 32; control State, 41; elect R. J. Meigs, 43, 59; schism, 55, 58, 61, 296; form Chillicothe Tammany Society, 57; unite to stop gerrymandering, 60; united by War of 1812, 62; support J. Madison, 80–1; factions of, 94; adoption of Washingtonian principles, 297; of Jeffersonian school, 337. *See also* Jeffersonian politics and adherents.
Rest, 348.
Resumption of specie payment, 264, 278, 281, 283.
Revivals, 362, 371–2, 375, 382.
Rheumatism, 339, 357.
Richland Co., erection and organization, 34; wheat, 162; politics, 335; Germans in, 395.
Richmond, J. L., cited, 353.
Riddell, Miss, stage celebrity, 416.
Riddle, Bechtle and Company, mercantile firm, 184.
Ridgway, Mr., 212.
Riggs, Dr. James, advertises electrical machine for use in practise, 352.
Ringworm, 351.
Rivers, 232; travel by, 173–99. *See also* names of rivers.
Road shows, 410, 416.
Roads, xii, 14, 174, 176, 200–28, 319, 329, 390–1; building, 5, 63, 199, 206; financing, 6; farmers' interest in, 33; county, 34; township, 35, 138; improvement, 198; in 1820, map, 201.
Robbery, 365.
Robinson, Victor, cited, 348.
Robinson, William, manufacturer of pot- and pearlash, 150.
"Rockingham," pottery, 258.
Rogers, John, cited, 380–1.
Rogers, Thomas, pioneer, 142; cited, 138, 143.
"Rogue's March," 357.
Romans, 138.
Roos, Frank J., Jr., xiv; cited, 181, 387–9.
Roosevelt, Nicholas J., builds steamboat for use on Ohio and Mississippi, 188–9; incorporates steamboat company, 190.
Roosevelt, Theodore, cited, 108.
Ropewalks, 167.
Roseboom, E. H., cited, 334.
Ross, James, founder of Steubenville, 9.
Ross Co., 154, 292, 298, 315; politics, 6, 58; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; erects building for Ohio legislature, 10; erection and organization, 34; clover, 167; assessment for roads, 207; merchant millers in, 242; court of common pleas, 275.
"Ross County Farmer," quoted, 292–3.
Ross County Historical Society, xiv; cited, 11, 19, 278.
Rowe, F. H., cited, 255.
Ruggles, Benjamin, cited, 98; supports W. H. Crawford in Ohio, 330.
Rush, Benjamin, physician, 346; attempts to find cure for yellow fever, 348; prescribes exercise for consumptives, 349.
Rushville, J. Finley at, 375.
Rusk, R. L., cited, 372, 416–7.
Russell, Robert, Columbus tavernkeeper, 212.
Rutherford, Benjamin, 45; case, 49–50.
Ryan, D. J., cited, 5, 24, 31, 69, 71–3, 320, 414.
Rye, 167, 241–2; used by distillers, 153, 246; exchanged for liquor, 245.
Sabbath-breaking, 363–4.
Saddlers, 259.
St. Clair, Arthur, 24; opposes statehood, 4; *Papers*, cited, 6, 8, 12–3, 18; backed by Marietta Federalists in fight against statehood, 7; political activity in Ross Co., 8; speech at Ohio Constitutional Convention against Enabling Act, 12; commission as governor of Northwest Territory terminated by T. Jefferson, 13; thwarted self-government in Northwest Territory, 14; opposes Chillicothe junto as promoters of slavery in Ohio, 18; defended by C. Hammond, 98.
St. Clairsville, 281; *Ohio Federalist*, 98–9, 115–6, 297; bank, 273, 297.
St. Louis, 191, 417.
St. Mary's, 116; Treaty of, 78.
St. Petersburg, 180.
St. Philip, Fort, 191.
Salt, 154, 233, 253, 258; springs, 5; wells, 155; works, 231; 254.
Salt Creek, 123, 208, 254; Methodist circuit, 374.
Salvation, 372, 375, 380.
Sandusky, J. Badger at, 93; Indian mission, 105.
Sandusky Bay, 222, 316.
Sandusky Co., erection and organization, 34; distilleries, 245.
Sandusky Plains, 338.
Sandusky River, 96, 107, 316; troops from Kentucky arrive at, 108.
Sandwich, Canada, in War of 1812, 89, 110.
Sassafras, 149.
Scalpel, 354.

Scarlet fever, 339.
School and Ministerial Lands, Supervisor of, *see* Ohio Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands.
Schools, 335, 359, 369, 398, 411–13, 420; land, 5, 125, 320–2; public, 316, 319–21, 324, 326–7; boards and districts, 322.
Schooners, 182.
Schouler, James, cited, 305.
Scioto country and valley, 292; politics, 6; against negro suffrage, 21; forests, 120, 122; described, 123; corn, 152, 163; cattle, 157–8, 160; orchards, 168; agriculture, 170; produce shipped by flatboat to New Orleans, 198; canals, 317, 325; houses of the, 387; Negroes in, 397.
Scioto Co., erection and organization, 30, 34; politics, 117; lumber, 234; iron, 255.
Scioto River, 5, 7, 58, 123, 136, 180, 199, 201, 208, 215, 219, 254, 316, 318–9; Methodist circuit, 374.
Scioto Salt Works, 260.
"Scorbutic complaint," 355.
Scott, Thomas, secretary of Ohio Constitutional Convention, 20; judge on Ohio Supreme Court, 54; succeeded by R. J. Meigs on Ohio Supreme Court, 88, 94.
Scott, Sir Walter, 391, 405, 418.
Scythes, 255.
Searight, T. B., cited, 216, 219–20, 222.
Sears, P. B., cited, 120, 122.
Secretaries, furniture, 239.
Secretary of State, *see* Ohio Secretary of State.
Seizure, 23.
"Select-parties," 404.
Senate, *see* Ohio General Assembly Senate, *and* U. S. Congress Senate.
Seneca, 112.
Seneca, Fort, 107.
Seneca Co., erection and organization, 34.
Seneca Indians, 105.
Senna, 348.
Sentimentality, 418.
Settees, 238.
Seven Ranges, 320.
Sewage disposal, 359.
Sewers, 343.
Seybert, Adam, cited, 145, 209, 248.
Shakers, 381; hog importers, 154.
Shakespeare, William 376; quoted in adv., 402; performances in West, 416; *Romeo and Juliet,* theater adv., 417.
Shales, 256.
Share-crop, 170–1.
Shaw, 410.
Shawk, Dr. John M., 350–1.
Shawnee Indians, 105, 247.
Sheep, 165–6, 250.
Shelby, Isaac, governor of Kentucky, 101; leads fresh troops to assist W. H. Harrison, 108; arrives at Harrison's encampment, 109.
Shelby, John, on committee to report on canals, 315.
Shelby Co., erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234.
Shepard, Lee, xiv.
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 417.
Sheriffs, 26.
Sherman, C. E., cited, 125, 136–7.
Ship-building, 10, 167, 178–80, 240; built on Lake Erie for action against British fleet, 108.
Shippingport (Penna.?), 192.
Shipwrights, 238.
Shira, D. K., cited, 346.
Shoemakers, 171, 252, 367.
Shoes, 171, 226.
Shooting, 364.
Shreve, Henry Miller, 225–6; breaks up Fulton-Livingston monopoly, 190–8.
Shreveport, La., 197.
Siberia, 138.
Sickle, 164, 231, 255.
Sickness, 338–61.
Sideboards, 239.
Siege, 102, 105.
Silicate, 258.
Silk, 402.
Silliman, Wyllys, 29; judge in court of common pleas, 28; cited, 77, 94.
Silversmiths, 258.
Simmons, ship-owner, 180.
Sin, *see* Depravity.
Singing schools, 409.
Skillets, 255.
Skins, 252.
"Slashing," 142.
Slavery question, 8, 18–21, 23, 327–9, 331–2, 385.
Sly, Cornelius, escaped prisoner, 401.
Smallpox, 339, 349–51.
Smether, Robert, dentist, 355.
Smith, A. D., 134.
Smith, John, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8–9; first U. S. senator from Ohio, 30; involved in A. Burr plot, 69, 71, 73–5; land in Miami Valley, 134–5.
Smith, Sol, stage celebrity, 416.

Smith, W. H., cited, 6, 8, 12–3, 18, 98.
Smithland, Ky., 189.
Soap, 150, 236, 258.
"Social gospel," 362.
Social life, xii–xiii, 387–421.
Societies for the "Encouragement of Domestic Manufacture," 261–2.
Soda-fountains, 352.
Soil, 122–4, 131, 151, 161–3, 170.
Somerset, Catholics in, 381.
South, county system, 33; desires to annex Florida, 86; supports W. H. Crawford, 330; J. Q. Adams' campaign in, 331; churches, 378.
South Bass Island, Perry at, 108.
South Carolina, 89; attempt at nullification, 307; condemns Ohio for action against Bank of U. S., 311.
Spain, opposes Louisiana Purchase, 67; strained relations with U. S., 68; ally of Britain, 86; Merino sheep imported from, 166.
Specie, 261, 264, 269–71, 273, 276, 278–81, 283–4, 286, 288–9, 306, 308.
Specie payments, *see* Resumption of specie payments, *and* Suspension of specie payments.
Speculation, in land, 41, 79, 127–8, 130, 272, 290.
Speech, freedom of, 23.
Spices, 352.
Spink, Cyrus, auditor of Wayne Co., 241.
Spinning-jennies, 250.
Spinningwheels, 238–9, 248.
Sprigg, William, chosen to sit on first Ohio Supreme Court, 28.
Springfield, 149; population, 393.
Springfield, village, *see* Putnam.
Square-dances, 405.
Squatters, 124, 134–5.
Squier, C. B., cited, 138, 144, 401.
Squirrels, 147.
Stage-coaches, 208, 211; illus., 218; lines, 212, 217.
Stark Co., erection and organization, 34; wheat, 162; iron, 255; Germans in, 395.
State Archaeological and Historical Society, *see* Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
State Board of Agriculture, *see* Ohio State Board of Agriculture.
State Department, *see* U. S. State Department.
State Library, *see* Ohio State Library.
State Museum, *see* Ohio State Museum.
State sovereignty, 312.
State University, *see* Ohio State University.
Statehood, 4, 31, 98.
Statistics, Bureau of, *see* U. S. Bureau of Statistics.
Staunton, 135.
Steam-engines, 240, 258.
Steamboats, 173–5, 183–5, 187–93, 197–9, 223, 245, 263, 386.
Steele, William, cited, 243.
Stephenson company, 410.
Stephenson, Fort, 105, 107.
Sterne, Lawrence, *Tristram Shandy*, 388.
Stethoscopes, 348.
Steubenville, 27–8, 45, 134, 209, 281–2, 304, 327, 332; politics, 6; founded by B. Wells and J. Ross, 9; receiver of public lands, 37–8; land-office, 129–30, 145; woolen-mills, 165–6, 250, 263; turnpike company, 213; roads, 221; *Western Herald*, cited, 262, 299–300, 302–3, 309, 311, 328, 332; bank, 268–9; population, 392–3; first piano in, 408.
Stewart, John, mulatto, 385.
Stills, 245, 258; illus., 246.
Stillson, George, 161.
Stock, turnpike, 214–5; bank, 266–7, 269–70, 272–3, 277.
Stock-breeding, 154, 158.
Stock companies, 265.
Stone, Barton, leader of New Lights, 380.
Stone, bladder, 353–4, 356.
Stoneware, 258.
Stores, 226.
Stout, Wilber, cited, 256.
"A Stranger," quoted, 50.
Strawberry culture, 170.
Stubbs, William, dyer, 253.
Sturgen, Timothy, 300.
Suffrage, 14, 17, 21, 327.
Summit Co., erection and organization, 34.
Sumner, W. G., cited, 305.
Sunbury, 403.
Sunday observance, 386.
Sunday-schools, 384.
Superior, Lake, 200.
Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands, *see* Ohio Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands.
Supreme Court, *see* Ohio Supreme Court *and* U. S. Supreme Court.
Surgery, 352–4.
Surveyors, 10, 136, 232; county, 33.
Surveyor-general of Public Lands, *see* U. S. Surveyor-general of Public Lands.
Surveys, 65, 125, 128, 137.

Suspension of specie payments, 264, 270–2, 288.
Swearing, 363.
"Sweeping resolution," 52–5, 57, 59–60, 94, 312.
Sweet, W. W., cited, 370, 373, 378, 380–1, 383.
Swindlers, 367.
Switzler, W. F., cited, 173, 175, 178, 186, 188, 193, 198, 243.
Symmes Purchase, 6.
Tables, 239.
Taft House, Cincinnati, illus., 388; portico, illus., 389.
Tailors, 367.
Talbot, Benjamin, cited, 379.
Tallow, 267.
Tammany Society, xi, 55–6; machine, 57, 94; influence in Ross Co., 58; influence in Ohio General Assembly, 1810–11, 59; newspaper warfare over, 60; supports J. Madison, 61; decline in Ohio, 62.
Tan-bark, 236, 238.
Tanneries, 231, 237, 259.
Tappan, Benjamin, 47; cited, 209; on granting charters for banking purposes, 304; stand on taxation of Bank of U. S., 305; member of committee to study problem of canal construction, 316; member of canal commission, 318.
Tarhe the Crane, chief of Wyandots, 105; marches with W. H. Harrison, 106.
Tariff, of 1816, 230, 261, 312; protective, necessity of, 61, 251, 329; question in election of 1824, 296; of 1824, 312, 332; W. H. Crawford on, 330; A. Jackson and J. Q. Adams stand on, 331.
Taverns, 205, 212, 252, 355, 357, 363.
Taxes, 265, 335; exemptions, 5–6, 128, 262, 272–3; land, 5–6, 40, 131, 133, 324–5; county, 14, 34; assessment and collection, 33, 35, 41; for War of 1812, 115, 270; road, 207, 215–6; payment of, with paper money, 280; delinquent, 294; on branches of Bank of U. S., 297–310; for schools, 321–2, 324, 326; for canals, 326; for support of State hospital, 360.
Taylor, E. L., cited, 125.
Teachers, 322, 324.
Tecumseh, ally of British, 79, 92, 102, 106; and W. Dudley's Defeat, 103; H. Proctor tries to deceive, 110; death, 111; confederation of, broken, 112.
Teeth, extraction, 351, 353, 355–6.
Temperance, 383–4; organization, 362.
Tennessee, 13; Constitution used as guide by Ohio Constitutional Convention, 16; cattle imported from, 158; banknotes from, 269; taxes Bank of U. S., 301.
Territorial code, continued in force by first Ohio General Assembly, 27, 38.
Territorial expansion, 66–7, 86.
Territorial Legislature, 12, 24.
Tetter, 351.
Textiles, 166.
Thames, Battle of, 100, 106, 110–2.
Theater, 385, 387, 415–6.
Theft, 23, 365.
Theology, Methodist, 375; Baptist, 378–9.
Thermometers, 348.
"Thespians," 415.
Thomas, David, cited, 188.
Thompson, John, renders decision on *State* vs. *Owl Creek Association*, 275.
"Thompsonianism," 347.
Thorne, C. E., cited, 151, 153–4, 157, 161, 167–8, 170.
Three Sisters, ship, 180.
Threshing, 164.
Thwaites, R. G., cited, 124, 131, 139, 141, 148–9, 157, 165, 169–71, 176, 179, 185, 187, 207, 240–1, 292, 396, 398–9, 408, 413.
Tiffin, Edward, 32, 94, 203; leader in fight for statehood, 6; opposed to slavery, 8; member of Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9–10; port., 11; chosen president of Ohio Constitutional Convention, 12; residence, illus., 19; casts deciding vote against negro suffrage, 21; as governor, 26–7, 41; cited, 37, 67–8, 72; recommends compilation of criminal code, 38; attacks common law, 39; and A. Burr Conspiracy, 41–2, 71, 74–5, 77; sweeping resolution of, furnishes funds for removal of capital to Zanesville, 54; interested in Tammany Society, 55; becomes speaker of House, 1810, 59; defends Tammany, 60; sponsors extension of credit to land buyers in Ohio, 64; appointed as first commissioner of General Land Office, 65, 117; elected to U. S. Senate, 75–6; saves land records from British destruction, 118; on board of Chillicothe Branch Bank of U. S., 278; as doctor, 353–4; sermons of, 375.
Tiffin, Mary (Worthington), 12.
Tiffin, land office, 129–30.
Timothy, 167.

"Timothy Tickler, Esq.," *The Legislative Log-Roller,* proposed, 25.
Tin, 258.
Tippecanoe, Battle of, 79, 91.
Tobacco, 179, 267.
Tod, George, 390–1; justice of Ohio Supreme Court, 44; on judicial review, 45–6, 52, 54; impeachment proceedings against, 48–50; appointed to third circuit of the common pleas court, 55; asks advice about running for Congress, 66; MSS., cited, 66, 365, 391.
Toledo, treaty with Indians at, 78; canals, 316; population, 393.
Tolls, road, 214; bridge, 215.
Tompkins, David D., governor of N. Y., 190.
Tools, 141, 151–2.
Topographic Survey, *see* Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey.
Towns, election of officers of, 35; population of, 1820, 392.
Townships, 33; organization, 35; taxes, 41; size and numbering of, 136; trustees, 206, 321.
Tracy, Elisha, physician, 341.
Trades, 396.
Transportation and travel, xii, 172, 240, 259, 264, 295, 312; water, 173–99; roads, 200–28; steamboat, 263.
Transylvania University, 386; medical school of, 344.
Trappers, 147.
Travel, *see* Transportation and travel.
Travelers, accounts of, xiii, 398; European, 138, 397; English, 399–400, 402; "A Traveller," quoted, 211.
Treason, punishment, 23; capital offense, 38; W. Hull's surrender as an act of, 95.
Treasurer, county, 33; township, 35.
Treasurer, State, *see* Ohio Treasurer.
Treasury, *see* U. S. Treasury.
Treat, Payson J., authority on national land system, 30; cited, 65, 290–1.
Treaties, with Indians, 78. *See also* names of treaties.
Trees, 120–4, 141–3.
Trepanning, 353–4.
Trew, Marion Johnson, cited, 392.
Trial by jury, 23, 46.
Trieste, Italy, 179.
Trimble, Allen, member of canal fund commission, 318; cited, 325, 336; speaker of Ohio Senate, 326; candidate for governor, 327, 333; as acting governor, 336.
Trimble, John, 166.
Trimble, William, U. S. senator, 326.
Triton, barge, 184.
Trollope, Mrs. Frances, 400.
True, Jabez, inoculates against smallpox, 349.
Trumbull Co., 95, 315; delegates to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; erection and organization, 34; cheese, 161; lumber, 234; iron, 255; described, 390; population, 392; Germans in, 395.
Trustees, township, 35.
Tuberculosis, 339.
Tubs, 238.
Tumbler, acrobat, illus., 407.
Tupper, E. W., ship-owner, 179.
Tupper, Edward, commands Ohio Militia, 96, 101.
Tupper-Ward House, 180–1.
Turner, Mrs., stage celebrity, 416.
Turner, F. J., cited, 308.
"Turnkeys," 355.
Turnpike companies, 35, 212–4, 219.
Turnpikes, *see* Roads.
Tuscarawas Co., erection and organization, 34.
Tuscarawas River, 316.
Tyler, Comfort, A. Burr accomplice, 72–3.
Typhoid fever, 339–40.
Union Co., erection and organization, 34; distilleries, 245.
Unitarianism, 331, 372, 386.
United States, governmental administration, 17; in War of 1812, 86–119; mail, 208–10, 219; factories, 229.
United States Bank, *see* Bank of the United States.
United States Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report,* cited, 173, 175, 178, 186, 188, 193, 198, 243.
United States Census, 1802, 4; 1820, 166, 229, 231, 243, 249–50, 392.
United States Commissioner of Public Lands, forerunner of Dept. of Interior, 117.
United States Congress, 118, 332; approves Ohio's Constitution, 3, 24; passes Enabling Act, 4–5, 9; requests State exempt public land from taxes, 6; speech of St. Clair against action of, on statehood, 12; acts to extend Federal laws to Ohio, 31; parental relationship to Ohio, 63; Committee on Public Lands, 65; position in, a stepping stone to good appointments, 66; absence of J. Smith from, 73; questions right of J. Smith to a seat in the Senate, 74; J.

Madison's message to, 1811, 79; Committee on Foreign Relations, 80; members from Ohio, 82, 94, 337; creates office of Commissioner of Public Lands, 117; reserves Virginia Military District for veterans of Revolution, 125; *Miscellaneous Documents,* cited, 129; passes Land Act of 1804, 130; receives report on National Road, 216; receives remonstrance from Ohio against Bank of U. S., 311; Ohio hopes for assistance from, in canal financing, 316; grants lands for public schools, 320; right of, to exercise control over formation of state constitutions, 328.
United States Congress House, *Executive Documents,* cited, 173, 175, 178, 186, 188, 193, 198, 243.
United States Congress Senate, members from Ohio, 30, 37, 47, 95, 117, 171, 326, 401; E. Tiffin resigns from, 59; Tiffin elected to, 75–6; Committee on Public Lands, 291.
United States Constitution, 46, 302–3.
United States Courts, circuit, 306–7, 311; district of New Orleans, 196. *See also* U. S. Supreme Court.
United States Department of Interior, 117.
United States General Land Office, 65, 127; removed to Virginia by E. Tiffin, 118.
United States Infantry, 19th Regiment, 104.
United States Laws, Statutes, etc., cited, 129.
United States Library of Congress, cited, xiv, 17,.67, 79.
United States Military District, 125, 127, 136; salt springs, 5.
United States Mint, 308.
United States Postmaster-general, 209, 330.
United States Post-office, 308.
United States President, election, 1812, 62; receives remonstrance from Ohio against Bank of U. S., 311; election, 1824, 328–9, 333–5; congressional election of, 1825, 336–7. *See also* names of Presidents.
United States State Department, 71.
United States Supreme Court, on judicial review, 44; C. Hammond before, 283; holds Bank of U. S. to be constitutional, 301–4, 306; Ohio's cause against Bank of U. S. heard in, 307–11.
United States Surveyor-general of Public Lands, E. Tiffin as, 118.
United States Treasury Department, 118, 282–3, 286.
United States War Department, 109; gives W. H. Harrison free hand in Canadian campaign, 95; promotes W. H. Harrison to major-general, 104; J. C. Calhoun in, 330.
Universalism, 372, 381.
Universities, *see* Colleges and universities.
University, State, *see* Ohio State University.
Updegraff, Nathan, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9–10.
Upper Canada, Conquest of, 86, 95; invaded by D. McArthur, 113.
Upper Sandusky, Indians relinquish land titles at, 78; W. H. Harrison dismisses militiamen stationed at, 112; Wyandot mission at, 385.
Urbana, E. Tiffin at, 96; roads, 210, 221; Bank, 273.
Utter, William T., xiv; credentials of, xi; cited, 32, 39, 44, 55.
Vaccination, 349–50.
Van Horne, Isaac, Muskingum Co., politician, 57; cited, 81.
Van Wert Co., erection and organization, 34.
Vause, William, partner with E. Cutler in cattle business, 160.
Velzey, Walter, xiv.
Venable, W. H., cited, 416.
Venereal diseases, 352.
Vermifuge, 351.
Vermont, 13, 393.
Vesuvius, steamboat, 189, 191.
Veto power, 14–7.
Vices, 362, 384.
Vicksburg, Miss., 226.
Villages, 14, 392.
Vineyards, 169.
Vinton Co., erection and organization, 34.
Violin, 407–8.
Virginia, 16, 147–8, 367, 385; source of settlers in Scioto Valley, 6, 8, 10, 12, 128, 152, 387, 393–4; political influence in Ohio, 32, 393; E. Tiffin removes U. S. Land Office to, 118; source of cattle for Ohio, 157; invests capital in Ohio industries, 229; convention of banks of, 281.
Virginia Military District, 5, 9, 125, 127, 136–7, 232, 320.
Virginia Resolutions, 311.

Virginia snakeroot, 149.
Visiting, 403.
Volunteers, called for service in militia against Spain, 68.
Votes, for statehood, 13; on slavery question in Ohio Constitutional Convention, 20; on civil status of Negroes, 21; for ratification of Ohio Constitution by people, 24; in first State election, 26; for governor, 1807, 42; for U. S. senators, 1807, 42; on eligibility of R. J. Meigs as governor, 43; on constitutional right of judges to pass on acts of the legislature, 47; for governor, 1808, 48; in impeachment trial of G. Tod, 51; on repeal of sweeping resolutions, 59; for President, 1812, 62; to oust J. Smith from U. S. Senate, 74; for U. S. senators, 1807, 76; in Congress for war with Britain, 82; for governor, 1812, 94; for governor, 1814, 117; on taxing of Branch Bank of U. S., 298, 301; trading of, 316, 324; on canals, 317; for governor, 1816–24, 327; for D. Clinton, 329; in election of 1824, 333–5; in congressional election, 1825, 336–7.
"Wachatomaka," 36.
Wadsworth, Elijah, in command of troops from Western Reserve, 90.
Wages, 171, 251.
Wagon-makers, 258.
Wagoners, 219–22.
Wagons, 202, 239.
Waite, F. C., cited, 344.
Walcote, Alexander, 365.
Wales, 396.
Walker, Anthony, cited, 336.
Wallace, C., agent for non-resident landholders, 133–4.
Wallace, Joseph, cited, 88.
Walnut Creek, 208.
Walnut Grove, 343.
Walnut Plains, 123.
Wanell, S. H., cited, 69.
War Department, *see* U. S. War Department.
War of 1812, xi, 32, 36, 39, 61, 63, 86–119, 124, 129, 155, 160, 178, 242, 261, 270, 296, 314, 338, 385, 400.
Warren, Charles, cited, 297, 305–6, 311.
Warren, 28, 215, 281; J. Badger at, 30; Tammany Society in, 57; *Trump of Fame,* cited, 88, 90, 93; turnpike company, 213; road, 214, *Western Reserve Chronicle,* cited, 262, 275, 315, 318, 334, 393; Western Reserve Bank, 270, 279, 286; politics, 335; population, 392; Germans in, 394.
Warren Co., erection and organization, 30, 34; Shakers import hogs to, 154; tanneries, 237.
Washington, George, 37, 297.
Washington, D. C., 20, 24, 27, 63–4, 67, 73, 79, 82–3, 92, 94, 97, 105, 113, 269, 290, 330, 336–7, 401, 403; attacked by British, 117–8, 270.
Washington, steamboat, 193–6, 198, 226.
Washington Benevolent Societies, 114.
Washington Co., 321; politics, 6–8, 26, 30; erection and organization, 34; lumber, 234; potteries, 258.
Water-power, 241.
Water-wheels, 232.
Waterways, 173–99, 315, 319.
Watt and Boulton engines, 189, 193.
Watt's hymn-book, 376.
"Wayne," cited, 200.
Wayne, Fort, in War of 1812, 91–3.
Wayne Co., 298; erection and organization, 34; wheat, 162; auditor of, 241.
Wealth, 262.
Weaver, Clarence L., xiv.
Webb, Nathan, introduces manufacturing of castor oil to Ohio, 247.
Webbe, composer, 410.
Webster, Daniel, sponsors law for payment of obligations due the Government, 278; attorney for Bank of U. S., 308.
Weekly Recorder, cited, 354, 384–6, 406–7.
Weisenburger, F. P., cited, 99, 209.
Welby, Adlard, traveler, 395.
Wells, Bezaleel, 134, 305; delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9–10, 23; manufacturer of woolens, 166, 250; member of committee of convention of banks, 281; attitude on taxation of Bank of U. S., 282.
Wells, salt, 253–4.
Wellsburgh, Va., 369.
Welsh, 370, 379, 396.
Werthner, W. B., cited, 121.
West, influence of, in rise of Jacksonian Democracy, xi; freedom of movement in, by slaveholders, 19; Republicanism in, 32; A. Burr's visit to, 69; fears Indian attack, 78; warned by T. Worthington against war, 83; most popular soldier in, 91; farmers in, 124; meeting place of East and, 136; not strong for J. Q. Adams, 331; surgery in, 353; area of individualism, 363, 386; churches in,

379; transformed by revivals, 382; depraved, 383; travelers in, 398, 390; "Emporium" of the, 391; music in, 408–9; culture in, 420.
West Point, E. Wood, trained at, 98.
West Union, forge, 256; bank, 273.
Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, cited, 353.
Western Museum, *see* Cincinnati.
Western Reserve, school lands, 5; J. Badger in, 30, 342; produces Republican leaders, 32; Indians give up title to, 78; in War of 1812, 90; "Firelands" of, 126; emigrants aided to find farms in, 128; five-mile townships in, 136; cattle, 157; dairying, 161; not dependent on Ohio River, 201; post-offices and post-roads in, 209; manufacture of potassium carbonate and potassium hydroxide, 235; land grants for schools in, 320; politics, 333; S. Huntington pioneers in, 341; indifference to religion in, 370; "Hartford hymns" in, 376; missionaries in, 379; population, 392.
Western Reserve Historical Society, xiv; Library, cited, 56, 66; *Publication*, cited, 103, 128.
Wheat, 151, 153, 159, 161–5, 167, 241–2, 249, 292–3, 295, 314.
Wheaton, cited, 309.
Wheeling, W. Va., 168, 319; market, 161; flatboat-building, 176; steamboat-building, 198; mail-stage, 218; roads, 221; transportation, 223.
Wheelwrights, 258.
Whipping, 38, 365–6.
Whiskey, 152–3, 224, 238, 245–7, 343, 354, 390.
White, Charles B., xiv.
White, L., 135.
White, Mathew, in Cambridge jail, 408.
White Oak Creek, Methodist circuit, 374.
White swellings, 356.
Whiteman, Benjamin, cited, 79.
Whitewater Creek, carding mill, 248.
Whooping-cough, 339.
Wilkinson, James, 71.
Williams, Micajah T., heads committee to report on canals, 315; cited, 316–7; member of canal commission, 318.
Williams, S. W., cited, 55, 373.
Williams, Samuel, cited, 10, 57, 112, 203, 205.
Williams Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 335.
Williamsburg, 204.
Willis, Nathaniel, 203.
Wills Creek, Methodist circuit, 374.
Wilmington, Quakers in, 381.
Wilson, James, editor of *Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, 300, 302, 305, 328; cited, 327; supports H. Clay, 332.
Wilson, John, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 8.
Wilson, Joshua, founds Cincinnati Lancastrian Seminary, 412.
Wilson, Robert G., Presbyterian minister, president of Ohio University, 384; teacher in Chillicothe, 412.
Wilson, William, Zanesville judge, 399.
Wilson, Woodrow, 300.
Winchester, General James, in War of 1812, 91–2, 96–8, 100.
Windows, 141.
Wine, 170–1.
Wirt, William, attorney for Bank of U. S., 308.
Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, cited, 20, 69, 77, 89.
Wittke, Carl F., xi, xiv; cited, 125.
Wolves, 39, 148, 391.
Women, clothing, 402–3.
Wood, Rev., 386.
Wood, Stephen, cited, 54; chosen elector of President, 203, 205.
Wood, Eleazer, builds Ft. Meigs, 98.
Woodbridge, Dudley, letter from H. Blennerhassett to, facsim., 70; cited, 147; stockholder in Bank of Marietta, 271.
Woodbridge, John, cashier of Chillicothe Bank, 268.
Woodbridge-Gallaher MSS., cited, 147, 271.
Wood Co., erection and organization, 34; politics, 315, 335.
Woods, Elijah, delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9.
Wool, 165–6, 248–52.
Woolen-mills, 262.
Wooster, land-office, 129–30, 145; bank, 273; German Bank of, 285.
Worley, D., steamboat captain, 192.
Worthington, Thomas, 12, 60, 74, 115, 133, 156, 171, 202, 367, 369; lobbies for Enabling Act, 4; leader in fight for statehood, 6; opposed to slavery, 8; delegate to Ohio Constitutional Convention, 9; receives advice on state government from N. Macon, 17; Letter Book, cited, 17; MSS., 18, 24, 26, 36–8, 41–2, 47, 59, 61, 64–8, 72–3, 76–7, 79, 81–3, 94–5, 98, 116, 209, 277–8, 290, 292, 343; T. Jefferson's remarks to, on Ohio Constitution, 20; delivers Ohio

Constitution to Congress for approval, 24; representative in Ohio General Assembly, 27; one of the first U. S. senators from Ohio, 30; a Republican leader, 32; gubernatorial prospect, 37; declines to run for governor, 1807, 42; assists in defeat of R. J. Meigs for governor and becomes a candidate, 43; opposes S. Huntington's court decision, 44; candidate for governor, 1808, 47; interested in Tammany Society, 55, 59; candidate for governor, 1810, 57; elected to U. S. Senate to complete Meigs's term, 58; responsible for provision in Land Act of 1804 reducing size of minimum tract, 64; advisor on land laws, 65; on territorial expansion, 67; Diary, cited, 67, 93, 159, 268, 370, 401; term in U. S. Senate expires, 1807, 75; port., 80; opposes war with Britain, 82–3; cited, 83, 118, 306–7, 343; residence of, illus., 84; confers with Indians at Piqua, 92; accompanies drunken mob to Ft. Wayne to fight Indians, 93; elected governor, 1814, 116–7; cattle dealer, 158–60; as farmer, 167, 170; nursery, 168–9; urges cooperative effort to improve navigation of inland waterways, 199; criticizes "electioneering intrigue," 203; urges taxes for improvement of highways, 215; president of Bank of Chillicothe, 268–9; on chartering of banks, 272; influential in establishing branch Bank of U. S. at Chillicothe, 278; requests aid for New York canal-building project, 314; on committee to report on canals, 315; member of canal commissions, 316, 318; sponsors ad valorem tax on land, 325; reelected governor 1816, 326; opposed to public whippings, 366; family life of, 370; founds State Library, 414.

Worthington, 123, 222; *Western Intelligencer,* 90, 121–3, 165, 188, 210, 403; roads, 210–1; mercantile business, 221; medical school at, 347.

Worthington College 411.

Worthington Manufacturing Company, 221, 223, 402.

Wounds, 348–9, 353.

Wright, John Crafts, attorney for R. Osborn, 308.

Wyandot Co., erection and organization, 34.

Wyandot Indians, 100, 259, 385.

Xenia, Tammany Society, 57; Bank of, 274.

X-rays, 348.

Yale College, R. J. Meigs and S. Huntington, graduates, 28, 43.

Yankees, 397.

Yarn, 248, 267.

Yellow Creek, 255.

Yellow fever, 339, 347–8.

Yellow Springs, 217.

Yernest, quack doctor, 356–7.

York, Pa., 160.

Yost, Robert, cited, 396.

Young, Jacob, cited, 85.

Youngstown, 365; iron furnaces, 255.

Zane, Ebenezer, founder of Zanesville, 9, 202; nursery, 167.

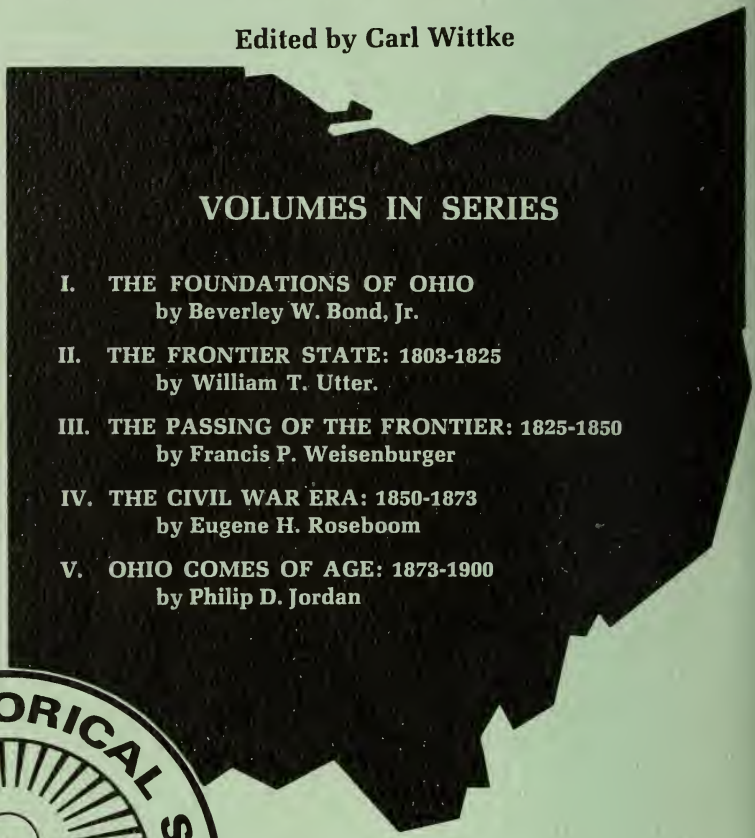
Zane's Trace, 202, 395.

Zanesville, 7, 9, 29, 36, 50, 59, 73, 77, 81, 94–5; second State capital, 53–4; Tammany Society, 57, 62; *Muskingum Messenger,* cited, 61, 246, 260, 356, 368–9, 408; friendly Indians at, 93; *Express and Republican Standard,* founded, 99, cited, 100, 114–5, 131, 254, 261–2, 270, 275, 297; Washington Benevolent Society, 114; land-office, 129–30, 145; indirectly benefited by steamboats on Ohio River, 198; roads, 200, 211, 221; stage line, 212; turnpike company, 213; mail, 218; iron, 230, 255–6; glass, 236; milling, 243; salt well, 254, Bank of Muskingum, 270; canal, 317; Sunday-schools, 384; population, 393; court scene, 399; *Republican,* cited, 399.

Ziegler, David, encourages migration of Germans to Cincinnati, 394.

A HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO

Edited by Carl Wittke



VOLUMES IN SERIES

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF OHIO
by Beverley W. Bond, Jr.

II. THE FRONTIER STATE: 1803-1825
by William T. Utter.

III. THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER: 1825-1850
by Francis P. Weisenburger

IV. THE CIVIL WAR ERA: 1850-1873
by Eugene H. Roseboom

V. OHIO COMES OF AGE: 1873-1900
by Philip D. Jordan



Cover illustration: First Great Seal as used by Governor Tiffin, 1805.


BOUND BY
HNM

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
977.1W78H C002 V002
THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO COLUMB
3 0112 025377141